Bram Stoker and Cultural Unification: Colonialism, Hybridity and the Gothic.

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Abstract

This thesis develops the links between Ireland, Colonialism and Nationality that occur within Bram Stoker's narratives through the representation of an ancient version of the past that actively engages with the Victorian present. This construction of the past demonstrates Stoker's political views surrounding the strengthening of a British Empire (in perceived decline) that engages equally with Ireland by providing economic strength and support for the country. When viewed from this context, Stoker's representation of the past seems to inform the present of the dangers of cultural degeneration and imperial decline, allowing the author to offer a new version of the British Empire based upon cultural continuity with Ireland. This ideal of a regeneration of the British Empire will also be seen to ground Stoker's narratives in a context of Irish regeneration along non-colonial lines and demonstrates his liberal vision of Home Rule for Ireland through which cultural reconciliation with Britain could be achieved. Thus Stoker moves beyond the initial threat of the colonial, towards the reconciling of nationalities and relocating the colonial threat from Britain towards burgeoning empires such as America and Germany.

Contents

Introduction: Bram Stoker – Ireland and Empire. 4

Chapter One

Contested Landscapes: Re-locating England, France and Ireland Within a Rhetoric of Cultural Regeneration in *The Snake's Pass* and 'The Burial of the Rats'. 13

Chapter Two

Bram Stoker's Nightmare of Invasion: *Dracula* and *The Lady of the Shroud* and the Colonial Threat to Cultural Unification. 55

Chapter Three

Oriental Landscapes and the Resurrection of the Past in *The Jewel of Seven Stars* and *The Mystery of the Sea.* 105

Conclusion. 159

Bibliography. 169

Introduction

Bram Stoker - Ireland and Empire.

The Irish tradition that Stoker's writing can be located within has been argued by critics such as Joseph Valente and Paul Murray as reflecting a literature of British Imperialism and by some, like David Glover, as a literature that considers Ireland in terms of the cultural and political problems faced by the Irish. Novels such as *The Snake's Pass* (1891), *Dracula* (1897), *The Mystery of the Sea* (1902) and *The Lady of the Shroud* (1909) are all illustrative of Stoker's concern with political and cultural attitudes drawing upon popular debates that were contemporary to his time. These viewpoints often considered the political notion of nationalism and ownership of land, specifically setting Stoker into the Anglo-Irish literary tradition more explicitly referenced by the likes of Charles Maturin and Sheridan Le Fanu. Alison Milbank suggests that 'The Irish situation is implicit within Maturin's *The Albigenses* (1824), which is an important source for Stoker.'[1] Milbank proposes that Stoker's Irish influences arise from both Maturin and Le Fanu, not only because their novels consider the so-called Irish experience of colonisation by the English through the Act of Union in 1801, but because 'As an Anglo-Irish Protestant, Bram Stoker inherited Maturin's sense of doubleness, as being both part of a quasi-imperial order and yet a victim of outside systems' (14). This sense of duality, of culturally belonging to both the coloniser and the colonised at the same time, found its way into Stoker's writings and is dealt with most explicitly in *The Snake's Pass* and *Dracula.* Thus Milbank suggests that Stoker's novels are inherently colonial and play out the colonial relationship between the English and the Irish due to the perceived forced onset of the

Act of Union which was depreciated not only by the Catholics and nationalists of Ireland, 'but [also] the Anglo-Irish gentry and aristocracy, as well as the Church of Ireland [who] saw their authority dwindle' (13).

For the Stokers, this Act of Union would have been unwelcome as Milbank suggests. Paul Murray writes that 'On hearing of the arrival of French forces under General Humbert to assist the rebellion against English rule in Ireland in 1798, [George Blake] ...set out with a servant ...to join them.'[2] Blake was an ancestor of Bram Stoker on his mother's side, and it is likely that Stoker's mother, Charlotte, would have known about her family history. Stoker's use of a similar story in order to explain the lost treasure chest buried in an Irish bog in *The Snake's Pass* implies that Stoker would have also been told about George Blake or have had some knowledge of the family history as told to him by Charlotte. Barbara Belford reiterates this, writing 'As a child, Stoker's happiest times were the evenings [when] his mother sat by his bed and told him the myths of Ireland.'[3] More importantly, Belford suggests that during these evenings 'his father embellished the military exploits of ancestors' (16), providing Stoker with not only a story of rebellion against the English colonisers, but also an allied connection with France, which, I would argue, Stoker later fictionalised in his novel *The Snake's Pass* in order to undermine the colonial attributes of the text. In re-telling such stories, Stoker's parents instilled in him a sense of the indeterminacy of the cultural positioning that Bram Stoker later found himself inhabiting.

Despite stories of cultural rebellion, Stoker's parents existed within a semi-bourgeois state in Ireland as his father worked as a 'functionary in the administration of empire'[1], ultimately allowing the family a sense of Anglo-Irish superiority within Ireland. Joseph Valente argues further that in relaying such stories to the young Bram, Stoker's parents '...combined to transmit a sense of their subtle ethnic difference to

their youngest son and thus to convert hybrid racial status into a dual cultural inheritance' (17). This dual cultural inheritance ascribed to Stoker reflects the position of in-betweenness ascribed to the Anglo-Irish through the Act of Union, whereby the English forced Ireland into a sense of colonial submission. However, for Stoker, this cultural feeling of colonial submission was compounded by his sense of liminality, of culturally belonging to both the coloniser and the colonised. I will argue that it is this sense of cultural duality constructed in a colonial way that Stoker seeks to move beyond within his novels by writing scenarios that reconcile disparate aspects of the Anglo-Irish relationship. Ultimately, for Stoker, the overcoming of a colonial narrative becomes a central trope within his writing and belies his position of being culturally liminal and thus marginalised through hybridity. I will argue further that Stoker's construction of the hybrid within his novels demonstrates his own attempts to reconcile the English and the Irish in a non-colonial way by moving away from the colonial construction of the Irish as Other. Thus Stoker represents English colonialism within his novels in order to deconstruct and to remove it, thus creating an Anglo-Irish landscape whereby both the English and Irish co-exist in a non-colonial manner, ultimately serving to reiterate Stoker's own cultural politics. This thesis will propose that Stoker's version of an Anglo-Irish Gothic is one that recalls the political landscape between England and Ireland and which further reflects upon the strengths and weaknesses of the British Empire.

The first chapter will consider how Stoker uses a connection with France in order to undermine the colonial narrative of *The Snake's Pass* and to transform the Irish landscape of the novel from a colonial, discontinuous landscape into an Anglo-Irish continuous one by the reconstitution of Ireland through the removal of the bog land. It will be demonstrated how Stoker's liberal politics are emphasised through the

concept of reaching an equal relationship with England. Thus it is my contention that Stoker overcomes the representation of the English as colonial in order to unify the English and the Irish on equal terms.

The second chapter will further consider Stoker's use of the colonial Gothic in the novels *Dracula* and *The Lady of the Shroud.* In this chapter it will be contended that Stoker's use of the colonial shifts as narratives of degeneration become more prevalent in the *fin de siécle*. During this time, Stoker's writing turns from representing the Other as colonial towards positioning a sense of the degenerate (or primitive) upon the colonial Other. Through a close consideration of Edward Said's *Orientalism* (2003), it will be illustrated that Stoker's colonial threats are displaced from England towards the colonies of the British Empire, such as Africa, Egypt and Eastern Europe. However, it is not merely the Orient that threatens British Imperial security. Stoker also demonstrates an increased suspicion of the emerging Empires of America and Germany; a tension that develops through *The Lady of the Shroud* and the *The Mystery of the Sea.* In both chapters it will be argued that the past seems to critique the present, and through Stoker's resurrection of the past, he is able to offer reconciliatory alternatives for the British Imperial future and ultimately for equal Irish participation in this future.

There will also be a sharp focus on Orientalism and Postcolonialism as critical approaches throughout the thesis. Critics such as Joseph Valente and Nicholas Daly consider Stoker's novels that explicitly deal with the British interpretation of Ireland, as narratives of postcolonialism. However, taking this criticism further, this thesis seeks to examine the orientalist perspective of the Irish viewed by the British. In doing so, this thesis serves to move beyond the mere postcolonial approach that has dominated Stoker criticism for some time. This thesis locates itself between the recent

biographical work provided by Paul Murray and the broader critical works of Andrew Maunder and William Hughes and serves to consider in more detail the political and cultural backgrounds that informed Stoker's writing. Suffice to say, this thesis uses biographical, geo-political and postcolonial critical approaches alongside the exploration of psychological and Orientalist perspectives of colonialism that serves to shed more light upon Stoker's own literary position and his construction of models of Otherness within his novels. Stoker's writings suggest not only a postcolonial relationship of cultural domination by England but also the propensity of the English to position the Irish into a state of cultural Othering, reminiscent of the British treatment of the Oriental colonies. Both approaches, then, serve to illustrate the language of difference into which the Irish were placed under English rule.

This consideration will continue into the third chapter as the importance of cultural degeneration upon the British psyche and ultimately upon Stoker's writing of *The Jewel of Seven Stars* (1903) and *The Mystery of the Sea*, will be examined at length. In this chapter, I will be argue that Stoker's resurrection of the past further evokes the weakness of the British Imperial present and furthermore, holds a mirror up to the British Empire in order to illustrate its inherent weaknesses. Stoker reflects the nightmare vision of a Britain too weak to exert any Imperial dominance and provides a warning about the perceived weakening of the British Empire. It will also be argued that in *The Mystery of the Sea*, Stoker sets about to reinvent Britain, placing Britain into a rhetoric that eventually celebrates the subjection of America through marriage and emphasises the renewed strength of the British Empire. It is my contention that Stoker suggests that Britain must first learn from the past and then become more like its own stronger past in order to become imperially stronger in the

future. Thus, it follows that Stoker's representations of the past serve as a warning to a Britain in decline that ultimately affects the economic stability of a unified Ireland.

Defining the Gothic: The Uncanny and the Oriental as forms of Otherness.

Throughout the thesis, the terms Gothic, the Uncanny and the Oriental will be frequently used to describe the theoretical conditions of production of Stoker's writing. However, before considering the way in which Stoker constructs these theoretical concepts within his writing, it will be useful to generate a working definition of these key terms and to define how they relate to each other in the context of his writings and their cultural and political background. As already suggested, the cultural positioning of the Anglo-Irish within an Ireland that was perceived to be ruled by English imperialism places Stoker within a liminal Ireland; a colonial construction of Ireland whereby the author would be torn between the coloniser and the colonised.

Stoker's novels reflect this cultural background of a colonised Ireland. In order to reflect his position of cultural indeterminacy, Stoker inevitably employs the Gothic genre in order to attempt to represent the cultural conditions of English oppression in Ireland. Novels such as *Dracula, The Mystery of the Sea* and to a lesser extent, *The Snake's Pass*, all demonstrate Stoker's willingness to represent Ireland (and the cultural problems faced by Ireland) through the Gothic. However, the version of the Gothic that Stoker employs within his novels that illustrate English imperialism in Ireland is marked by differences from earlier uses of the genre. Whilst earlier Gothic writers displayed excesses and cultural transgressions, Stoker's version of Irish Gothic writing serves to emphasise the indeterminacy of Irish culture suppressed through the colonial, relocating the real horror from the depths of vaults to everyday

society. In this respect, then, the mode of writing that Stoker uses demonstrates the uncertainty of society and recalls his own liminal position as an Anglo-Irish hybrid. Fred Botting defines nineteenth century Gothic fiction as an exploration of '...the murky recesses of human subjectivity'[2] where:

> ...the city, a gloomy forest or dark labyrinth itself, became a site of nocturnal corruption and violence, a locus of real horror; the family became a place rendered threatening and uncanny by the haunting return of past transgressions and attendant guilt on an everyday world shrouded in strangeness (11).

The key concepts here to emerge in Stoker's fiction, however, are the return of the past within the present. Whilst this is deemed uncanny and (sometimes) monstrous in Stoker's novels, such as *Dracula* and *The Jewel of Seven Stars*, I would argue that the representation of the past in such novels serves to provide a warning to the present and future. In doing so, Stoker's Gothic, whilst reflecting the liminality of the colonial hybrid subject through double narratives, serves to offer reconciliatory scenarios by suggesting an overcoming of the Gothic narrative employed to reflect the construction of the colonial.

Stoker's version of Irish Gothic serves to analyse the negative connotations of English imperialism upon the culture of Ireland. Throughout his novels, Stoker reflects the colonial construction of Ireland by imperial England through explicit references and allegory, thus demonstrating how the Irish were classed as different from the British colonisers; placing Ireland into a sense of Otherness common to colonised countries. Such constructions of Otherness bring Stoker's narratives closer to representations of Freud's 'The Uncanny' and Said's *Orientalism* which provides models of Otherness through a sense of cultural inferiority and disorientation.

Freud's construction of the Uncanny will feature within this thesis as a way of demonstrating Stoker's initial positioning of the Irish into a rhetoric that draws upon British Colonial literature surrounding the perception of Ireland as unfamiliar and Other. The Uncanny also, paradoxically, serves as a way of undermining this colonial language. Through Freud's construction of Otherness rooted in a sense of unfamiliarity and disorientation, Stoker's representation of the English colonists within his novels reflect the instability and the ineffectiveness of the colonial control upon the country. I will argue that throughout his narratives, the colonists never gain a full sense of control or orientation with regard to the land they attempt to control.

Similar in scope is a construction of the Orient that Stoker uses most explicitly in his novels *The Jewel of Seven Stars* and *Dracula*. Both novels, it will be argued, demonstrate the condition of Otherness that is produced through racial differing. Queen Tera is deemed monstrous precisely because she emerges from the Ancient Egyptian past, a past that is referenced as uncanny because it is unfamiliar to the Victorian present, but more importantly, because she represents a cultural threat from one of Britain's colonies. Said suggests that 'Orientalism [is] a western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient.'[3] In this context, Tera becomes a threat to a weakening Britain because she reflects the opposition of the Other to the colonial, much like the opposition of the Irish to their perceived colonisation by the Act of Union. Like Stoker's construction of the uncanny, Orientalism becomes a way for Stoker to represent the Other in a Gothic mode of writing. Through his representation of the Orient, Stoker is able to indicate the English perception of their colonies, and more specifically, the feeling of inferiority placed upon Ireland by their colonisers. Thus the Irish become 'Orientalised' by the English and are thus viewed as being culturally weak and inferior. However, I will

argue that this conception of the Orient is turned upon its head by Stoker who illustrates the emergence of the Oriental as a powerful entity in the face of a weakening Britain. Like the construction of the uncanny, Stoker is able to use the Orient to undermine the colonial narrative and create scenarios that attempt to reconcile elements of Irish and English culture, which will now be considered at length.

Chapter One

Contested Landscapes: Re-locating England, France and Ireland Within a Rhetoric of Cultural Regeneration in *The Snake's Pass* and 'The Burial of the Rats'.

Despite being a writer of colonial fictions such as *The Snake's Pass* (1891) and *Dracula* (1897), some of Stoker's critics still remain sceptical of his ultimate literary intentions and colonial viewpoints. Such is the case with Nicholas Daly, who writes that '*The Snake's Pass* ultimately fails as a fantasy of imperial control. By this very failure...this novel gives us a defamiliarised knowledge of the textual strategies of romance.'[4] For Daly, the novel can be functionally separated into an adventure romance and a colonial fiction, the rhetoric of the former being far more successful than the latter due to the fact that the adventure romance novel was a more accepted form of writing in Stoker's time. However, on the theme of the colonial history of Ireland in *The Snake's Pass*, Daly notes that Stoker's novel presents Ireland as a 'discontinuous space' (68) that should look familiar in our postcolonial present. Nevertheless, I would argue that Stoker's Ireland within the novel represents not only the unmapped and therefore unfamiliar, discontinuous space of the English colonial enterprise, but also the mapped, familiar and continuous space of the Irish landscape. What Daly mistakes as a 'failure to package Ireland as imaginary imperial space' (43) is in fact Stoker's recasting of Ireland from a colonial to a non-colonial space through drawing upon a romance sub-genre within the novel. In this way, Stoker is able to move from a rhetoric of colonialism which he represents in a Gothic manner, to a narrative of adventure romance as the Gothic narrative becomes undermined by the novel's close. The discontinuities of the Irish landscape as unmapped and thus unfamiliar are replaced by the continuities of a mapped, familiar Ireland.

Stoker's preoccupation with the justification of land and borders and the reconstruction of new areas of land leads Stoker into a literary debate over ownership of specific land in order to provide the Irish landscape with a newly imagined vision of the Anglo-Irish relationship. For Stoker, the representation of land becomes a way to play out and to re-address those issues central to the Irish, such as ownership, cultural identity and a sense of cultural continuity. Stoker's novels record, replay and attempt to resolve the aggressive politics of English colonialism and cultural subversion towards the Irish in a peaceful manner. Land is also an important factor in the question of Irish nationality because it is seen as the basis for culture. The representation of Ireland as a mapped, continuous space provides the Irish with a continuous sense of belonging. For the Irish, the familiarity of land provides a familiarity of culture through cultural continuity. During the Act of Union, the positioning of Ireland as an unmapped, unfamiliar space disrupted the Irish cultural sense of belonging as they were being ruled through an absentee government unconnected to the landscape of Ireland in every way. Joseph Valente writes that through the Act of Union:

> the Irish people at large found themselves at once agents and objects, participant-victims as it were, of Britain's far-flung imperial mission...The self-division thus inflicted upon the collective identity of the Irish people roughly corresponded to the ethnic division of status and authority that already existed within Ireland (3).

The Act of Union, then, saw Ireland emerge as a country whose people were separated by class, authority and ethnicity. However, it is my contention that the

cultural separation implied by Valente, was founded upon the land itself as those with feudal and colonial connections prospered and gained the better lands whilst those without suffered on the poorest. Samuel Smiles suggests in his *History of the Irish People Under the Government of England* (1844) that the Irish experienced 'deep degradation into which the English government stands chargeable with having sunk them.'[5] As the Irish suffered on the poorest lands, the English and the feudal landowners prospered through their greed by forging the best lands for themselves.

For the Anglo-Irish novelist such as Stoker, the tensions between the cultural denominations of the Anglicised Irish show a sense of confusion within the dynamics of cultural accessibility, and to the difficult relationship between coloniser and colonised. As a transplanted Irishman (living in London) Stoker's in-between (or liminal) status as both part English and part Irish (and ultimately as part coloniser and part colonised) would inevitably create a sense of cultural duality as ascribed to Stoker by Valente's construction of the 'metro colonial' (3). Whilst Stoker is both Anglo and Irish, he is harshly neither as his sense of liminality points to a difficulty of belonging which is referenced by Stoker through the literary considerations he gives to ownership and the mapping of land. Again, land becomes not only a place to live, but also a space in which a sense of culture can grow. For Stoker, land becomes a central trope for the identification of culture through a growing sense of owning and belonging. Catherine Wynne reiterates that the 'Control of land and its concomitant defiance of possession mirror the complexities of the colonial situation, a theme central to a writer who emerges from a colonial heritage, one of land and cultural dispossession.'[6] Wynne is writing of Conan Doyle here, but the same could be applied to Stoker. What is most interesting is Wynne's suggestion that colonialism creates both land and cultural dispossession. Stoker illustrates this in *The Snake's Pass*

whereby Irish culture and Irish lands are inseparable, yet the creation of a discontinuous landscape through colonialism disrupts the cultural sense of ownership and belonging that the representation of a non-colonial and continuous Irish landscape provides. The contested terrain of the Irish landscape becomes one of liminality itself as Ireland in a colonial context becomes an unmapped, discontinuous space of in-betweenness that easily aligns itself with the Gothic narrative. For Stoker, the narratives of colonialism in both *The Snake's Pass* and *Dracula* become Gothicised as Stoker illustrates further that the colonial construction of landscape is one which considers space as a commodity as opposed to space as a cultural trope.

Through the commodification of land, the colonial English can achieve power as the land becomes something to buy and sell instead of being valued for what it provides for culture. The English characters of the novel, Dick Sutherland and Arthur Severn, attempt to map the previously unmapped bog because it is the space that threatens the English notion of imperialism as it is unworkable and thus valueless. I would argue that the unmapped, discontinuous wetland is a threat to the Empire not because it is *unmapped* but because it is *unmapped by British colonisers.* The only way the English can ever *get to know* the Irish landscape is by changing or altering it, making the landscape discontinuous to the Irish and thus continuous and valuable to the English. This is evident in *The Snake's Pass* through Arthur and Dick's removal of the one thing that threatens their Empire so much: the bog.

The representation of the wetland has become synonymous with the Irish and in Irish literature as a symbol of the same kind of in-betweenness or liminality that Stoker exhibits as a central trope of the colonised Irish. Smiles writes that 'the people of England are still as ignorant of the condition of Ireland as Swift alleged they were in his time, - when all they knew of Ireland was, that it was a country subject to the

crown of England, [and] full of bogs' (IV). Even Henry David Thoreau depicts the Irish in his travel narrative *Walden* (1854) in terms of swamps, suggesting that:

> John Field [was] a poor man, born to be poor, with his inherited Irish poverty or poor life, his Adam's grandmother and boggy ways, not to rise in the world, he nor his posterity, til their wading webbed bog-trotting feet get *talaria* to their heels.[7]

Through the representation of these landscapes, the Irish themselves are liminalised due to the threat such lands present to the colonial project, reiterated by Rod Giblett who suggests that 'wetlands are neither strictly land nor water. Rather, they are both land and water.'[8] Like the wetlands, the Irish were also positioned as a liminal race that was inferior to the English colonists. This is further illustrated in *Arthur Young's Tour in Ireland 1776-1779* (1892) which suggests that in Ireland there is 'in some places nothing but wood'[9] and that 'All the lower ranks have no idea of English cleanliness' (20). Here, the Irish are represented in a manner reminiscent of the liminal wetlands. In this capacity it is easy to see how landscapes come to allegorise a cultural feeling itself and why the Irish landscape is so important to a cultural feeling of *being Irish.*

Through the changing landscape and its colonial mapping, the English colonisers are able to disrupt the feeling of cultural continuity that is so central to being Irish. In removing the wetlands to supposedly create better drainage and more workable lands in Ireland, the English colonial project succeeds in removing what Giblett terms 'a different kind of halfway world, neither water nor land yet a part of both' (3), instead replacing the liminality of the bog with the discontinuity of a land

that has succumbed to English colonial control. The continuous, already known Irish land had been disrupted, made discontinuous and re-mapped according to the new colonial ideals of the English. Nicholas Daly notes that 'there is a close connection in the imperial romance between the discourse of surveying, mapping, constructing a sort of visual dominance over the landscape' (48). This is all too evident in *The Snake's Pass* with Stoker's interpretation of the colonial English who construct a map of the wetland in order to learn more about it before it is drained away. However, with the imperial gaze set firmly upon the Irish landscape, the English coloniser must gain a visual and physical dominance over the land in order to successfully achieve the complete control of Ireland. Stoker suggests in his novel that the English, not content with merely mapping and surveying the area, desired to alter the land itself because the removal of the swamp 'created possibilities in the way of building and of water works of which at first [they] had not dreamed. The new house rose on the table-rock in the Cliff Fields.'[10] The English imperial gaze designed to create a visual dominance over Ireland has fast turned into a physical altering of the landscape in order to create a physical dominance over the Irish subjects. William Hughes demonstrates this further, writing that 'Norah Joyce, made financially secure by Severn's purchase of both her father's and Murdock's lands, moves to a position where her status as an icon of the Irish nation – Erin or Hibernia – becomes compromised and re-shaped.'[11] Both the Irish land and the Irish culture are altered through the physical dominance of the English coloniser and what was once a continuous landscape to the Irish is transformed into a discontinuous or colonial landscape.

'A Wild and Unknowable Place': Moving Beyond Stoker's Colonial Construction of Ireland and France.

Stoker's literary connection with France is one that has been remarkably overlooked by past critics such as Valente, who positions Ireland merely as 'an improbable conduit for...cultural fantasies' (9), and as a country that is responsible for its own sense of colonialism. Nevertheless, Stoker's connection between Ireland and France is one of utmost importance when considering Stoker's politics of colonialism and his ultimate undermining of the colonialism that he depicts in his novel *The Snake's Pass* and later short story 'The Burial of the Rats' (1914). In the former, Stoker's reference to the French is minimal, while the latter is specifically set in France. This leads one to the conclusion that these narratives can be re-read in a specific way which refers to Ireland's connection with France that has been passed over by the likes of Nicholas Daly and William Hughes. Both critics acknowledge the French theme in *The Snake's Pass* but do not connect France with the Irish Question in ways suggestive of an undermining of British Imperialism in Ireland. Neither Daly, nor Hughes do justice to the intricacies that a French reading of the novel provides. Daly merely suggests that the finding of the French treasure in the novel 'retains the traces of the historical *success* of the English colonial project' (63). This is an over-simplification of Stoker's usage of the French treasure buried in the Irish wetlands. In locating such an important piece of historical and cultural treasure within an Irish landscape, Stoker seems to point to something other than merely celebrating the success of the English colonial endeavour. Through the presence of the French treasure, I would argue that Stoker is in fact evoking the history of the Anglo-Irish and is setting himself within a literary history of Ireland that takes Charles Maturin and Sheridan Le Fanu into consideration. Both writers came from a religious background of Anglo-Irish Protestantism like Stoker and were connected to France through their family history.

On Maturin, Chris Baldick writes that 'In Paris...his reputation had flourished posthumously'[12] thus making his form of Irish literature popular reading in France after his death.

France is also historically linked with Ireland through religion and cultural rebellion against the English as far back as the eighteenth century when many Irish Protestant liberals were sympathetic to the French Revolution of 1789. Conservative loyalists however, remained opposed to further concessions to Catholics and argued that the 'Protestant Interest' could only be secured by maintaining the connection with Britain. Some in Ireland were attracted by the French Revolution in order to break any connection with England and this ultimately led to rebellion through the United Irishmen movement. The United Irish forged links with the militant Catholic peasant society whilst the United Irish leader, Wolfe Tone, went to France to seek French military support. In 1796, an expeditionary force of 15,000 troops arrived off Bantry Bay but failed to land, leading the rebellion to begin without French help. However, towards the end of the rebellion, a second, smaller French expeditionary force landed in Killala Bay in Mayo and led to a final outbreak of rebellion in county Mayo. It is this second landing that Stoker fictionalises in *The Snake's Pass* which, I would argue, reflects his own position of undermining the English colonial narrative through the use of a French and Irish connection within the novel. William Hughes makes a short reference to the French treasure lost by the expeditionary force of the novel, writing that 'Most significantly, the French gold, newly discovered on Joyce's land, is passed into his custodianship...But this bounty plays no part in the novel's subsequent representation of the regeneration of a community in rural Ireland' (20). While Daly seeks to imply that the French treasure explicitly refers to English success, Hughes rather more bluntly views the treasure as something that plays no

part in the novel at all. However, it is my contention that the French treasure does have significant implications within the novel for the Irish and for a form of colonial narrative that Stoker employs. This use of a reference to France becomes far more politicised than first acknowledged by Stoker's critics as it refers to a history of French involvement with the Irish. In order to illustrate this connection, however, it is imperative to take some time to consider the only short story that Stoker explicitly sets in France, 'The Burial of the Rats'. This short story will also provide a good basis to begin a consideration of *The Snake's Pass* later in this chapter.

'The Burial of the Rats' follows an Englishman into the rat-infested rubbish dumps of Montrouge where survivors of the Napoleonic war are attempting to live in squalor and poverty. The story, which provides a look at France through the eyes of an Englishman, illustrates Stoker's attempt to connect both France and Ireland through positioning them into a similar colonial rhetoric. In this story, Stoker writes of the French landscape in a way that reflects the colonial conception of the Irish and in doing so, his descriptions of France become evocative of Ireland. Almost at the outset of the Englishman's journey from the centre to the outskirts of Montrouge, he comes across '...a somewhat wild and not at all savoury district.'[13] He continues that this district contains 'great heaps of dust and waste' (120) and is suggestive of the English construction of the Irish landscape at the time by the popular press. In the *Yale Review* journal of 1917, Lady Aberdeen writes of Ireland in much the same way as the Englishman positions France in 'The Burial of the Rats'. Lady Aberdeen suggests that '"the wild Irish" were to be driven out to waste lands, and settlements to be made of colonies of civil people of England and Scotland "who would reclaim Ireland and Ulster in particular...from savage and barbarous customs, to humanity and civility."'[14] This treatment of the 'wild Irish' is evoked in Stoker's short story as

the new French rulers banish the French soldiers who fought in the revolution to the wastelands. The lexical choice used to describe the wastelands of France alludes strongly to Nassau William Senior's description of Ireland in his *Journals, Conversations and Essays Relating to Ireland* (1868) where he writes of Bantry as:

> a wretched town, approached by a long suburb of misery and ruin, with scarcely a decent house in its marketplace, except two neat-looking hotels. A crowd of half-starved, half clothed wretches made a sort of circle round the coach as we changed horses, but did not come near enough to beg.[15]

The outskirts of Irish towns as described by English travellers reflect the way Stoker positions the outskirts of Montrouge as seen through the eyes of the Englishman in his short story. The primitiveness and the wretchedness of Ireland in the above quotation mirror Stoker's representation of Montrouge, signifying the similarity between the two places through the eyes of the Englishman. Similar constructions of Ireland were also provided by the Irish novelist Anna Maria Hall (writing as Mrs S.C. Hall) in her *Sketches of Irish Character* (1842), in which she describes the poverty of a rural Irish house that has 'a corner cupboard, displaying china and glass for use and show, the broken parts carefully turned to the wall.'[16] By describing France in the same way as Ireland, Stoker is able to refer directly back to Ireland while subjectively describing France, creating a sense of landscape doubling between the two countries. Through this doubling, Stoker is able to illustrate the close proximity of the landscape of Ireland and landscape of France as he positions them side by side in terms of colonial imagery in his narratives. In both *The Snake's Pass* and 'The Burial of the Rats',

Ireland and France are seen to have wasteland areas where the poorest are living, and most importantly, the English constructs both landscapes in the same way.

Both landscapes then, have a sense of geographical doubling that positions them within the rhetoric of English colonialism. For Ireland, the colonialism is forced through the Act of Union, and for France it is the close proximity to the Irish landscape that draws them into a version of English colonialism. Both of Stoker's narratives of colonisation, *The Snake's Pass* and 'The Burial of the Rats', feature Englishmen who have a preoccupation with mapping and categorizing, which belies the colonial endeavours of the English characters. In *The Snake's Pass*, Arthur and Dick map the Irish bog in order to come to terms with it. This theme occurs again in 'The Burial of the Rats' as the Englishman refers to Montrouge as:

> a city of centralisation – and centralisation and classification is closely allied. In the early times, when centralisation is becoming a fact, its forerunner is classification. All things which are similar or analogous become grouped together, and from the grouping of groups rises one whole or central point (121).

The Englishman's interest in classifying cities and people seems to stem from the English colonial need to know, which allows him to attempt to become familiar with the unfamiliar place. He writes further that:

> Like all travellers, I exhausted the places of most interest in the first month of my stay, and was driven in the second month to look for amusement whithersoever I might. Having made sundry journeys to the better-known

> suburbs, I began to see that there was a *terra incognita*, in so far as the guide book was concerned, in the social wilderness between these two attractive points (123).

The known places of the guidebook hold very little interest for the Englishman, who sets off to look for the unknown and unfamiliar areas of the city. In doing so, he reflects Stoker's earlier construction of the colonial Englishmen Arthur Severn and Dick Sutherland in *The Snake's Pass*, again creating a narrative doubling between Ireland and France through the colonial rhetoric of becoming familiar with a place that is positioned as unfamiliar. The Englishman in Stoker's short story begins to 'systematise my researches, and each day took up the thread of my exploration at the place where I had on the previous day dropped it' (123). Stoker's use of a kind of uneasy language borrowed from narratives of colonial exploration illustrates the transformation of the Englishman from a simple traveller to a colonial explorer as he swaps the guide book and sundry journeys for systematic research and exploration. In doing so, the narrator attempts to gain a physical mastery over the unexplored French terrain in a similar way to Arthur and Dick in *The Snake's Pass*. The tourist gaze has once again been transferred to a more physical dominance over the landscape, a dominance that the French ultimately object to. Daly suggests that '*The Snake's Pass* develops a more uneasy theme of imperial vision [as] Arthur...[is] a tourist [and] spends a great deal of his time in visually consuming Ireland' (48). This is also the case in 'The Burial of the Rats', as the English explorer writes:

> In the process of time my wanderings led me near Montrouge, and I saw that hereabouts lay the Ultima Thule of social exploration – a country as little

> known as that round the source of the White Nile. And so I determined to investigate philosophically the chiffonier – his habitat, his life, and his means of life (123).

In comparing his own exploration with archaeological exploration in Egypt, the narrator places himself within a rhetoric of colonialism, producing an analogy to English empire building in other parts of the globe. In doing so, the English narrator is re-positioned from a 'stranger' (124) who is an outsider in a foreign country to a colonial Englishman with a forced superiority over the French, one who is 'always ready for his duty' (148). This duty is for the advancement of the British Empire, and it is this, which Stoker represents within the short story through the doubling of the narrative between France and Ireland. Stoker employs the same kind of geographical doubling in *Dracula* through the juxtaposition of Transylvanian and Irish landscapes. On this, Alison Milbank suggests that 'Transylvania, the "land beyond the forest", and Ireland are both held by the power of the past.'[17] The same can be said for France as the narrative recalls the French Revolution and sets up a contrast between the old and the new in much the same way as in *Dracula*. The narrator of 'The Burial of the Rats' suggests that 'The traveller, therefore, who visits the environs of Montrouge can go back in fancy without difficulty to the year 1850' (122). Thus Montrouge keeps the past present in the same way as the wetland functions to in *The Snake's Pass*, and as the Count does in *Dracula*.

The most explicit reference to Ireland in the short story 'The Burial of the Rats' comes in the shape of an analogy to the wasteland of Ireland, as the Englishman suggests that:

> There were a number of shanties or huts, such as may be met with in the remote parts of the Bog of Allan – rude places with wattled walls, plastered with mud and roofs of rude thatch made from stable refuse – such places as one would not like to enter for any consideration (124).

This analogy refers specifically to the bog land areas of Ireland represented in the earlier novel *The Snake's Pass* and is a trope through which Stoker is able to offer a counter narrative to that of colonisation and empire which he sets up throughout both accounts. The two narratives differ because *The Snake's Pass* is the only Stoker novel that actually features a wetland area; nevertheless, the metaphor of the bog is still evident in the short story. The landscape can therefore be seen as a vehicle through which Stoker can impress his own views on the cultural and political debates that surrounded Ireland in the nineteenth century. Such land is an area that the English could not colonise, and which threatened the English colonial project. In the midst of such powerful debates based on empire, culture and what it meant to be Irish, the representation of the swamp as a liminal entity (an in-between space as it were) reflects the Irish national mood during the time of writing. David Glover writes that 'Stoker lived through some of the formative years of Irish nationalism and though he died nearly a decade before independent statehood was achieved, he was a cautious but convinced advocate of Irish Home Rule.'[18]

Stoker's support of Irish Home Rule during English colonial rule in Ireland would have placed him and much of the Irish within a feeling of cultural and political in-betweenness. In this sense, the representation of the Irish landscape as being a liminal space would seemingly be an extension of the Irish cultural feeling of the time under the government of England. In his *Hints Towards the Pacification of Ireland*

(1844), John, Earl of Shrewsbury writes of Ireland as being an 'unfortunate land'[19] which is full of 'human misery' (7) because of the English colonial control over the country. The feeling of this colonisation is referenced as being akin to the slavery of races in other countries. He writes further that 'we cannot surely be less sensitive to the miseries of the white slave in Ireland than we are to the black slave of America' (12). This same feeling was still rife within Ireland during the 1880s as Edward Lengel illustrates in his *The Irish Through British Eyes* (2002). The psychological feeling and cultural positioning of the Irish as slaves to the British Empire would have certainly caused them to be viewed as an in-between race and ultimately as outcasts in their own lands. In constructing the wetland in *The Snake's Pass* and referencing the same in 'The Burial of the Rats', Stoker is inherently positioning the Irish landscape in a way that is suggestive of how the Irish were positioned by the English through the Act of Union. Stoker maps this cultural feeling of in-betweenness onto the Irish landscape itself. In *The Snake's Pass*, the landscape is described through the eyes of the narrator, the English traveller Arthur Severn, and mirrors the traveller's description of France in 'The Burial of the Rats'. On entering Ireland, Severn notices that:

> In the wide terrace-like steps of the shelving mountain there were occasional glimpses of civilization emerging from the almost primal desolation which immediately surrounded us – clumps of trees, cottages, and the irregular outlines of stone-walled fields, with black stacks of turf for winter firing piled here and there (1).

This description of Ireland uses imagery associated with the English colonial perception of Ireland, who depicted the country as being a wild and sparse country with very primitive civilisation. Stoker evokes this colonial perception of Ireland at the novel's outset in order to place his character, Arthur, within a literary tradition of colonial explorers created by the likes of Robert Louis Stevenson and Henry Rider Haggard. It is also not difficult to draw comparisons between Arthur Severn and the English narrator in 'The Burial of the Rats', both of whom seek to replace the imperial gaze with a physical form of imperial dominance over Ireland or France.

The opening paragraph of *The Snake's Pass* illustrates the extent of the imperial gaze upon the unfamiliar territory of Ireland. Arthur notes a 'dark lake of seemingly unfathomable depth' (1) and the 'frowning rock' (1) beside it that seems to suggest the Irish disapproval of the Englishman's colonial gaze. The imagery of the frowning rock provides the reader with the first narrative suggestion of an undermining of the colonial project in Ireland and in doing so, Stoker signals to the reader that the novel is not the straightforward imperial romance that Daly suggested it was. Nevertheless, Arthur and his friend, Dick Sutherland, continue their imperial project of attempting to make Ireland a familiar and continuous landscape through their mapping of the wetland.

The bog land of the novel is represented in a quasi-Gothic manner by Stoker, suggesting that it is not only an unfamiliar territory to the English, but also feared by them precisely because it is unmapped and not archived in any coherent way. The imperial gaze can only view it as a discontinuous landscape because it holds no relevant reference point. At the beginning of the novel, Arthur is able to gaze at the Irish landscape because he can compare it with his 'Great Aunt's well-wooded estate

in the South of England' (2), providing him with a source to base his knowledge of Ireland on. The wetland, however, is not referenced at all, as Dick points out:

> There is a Danish book, but it is geographically local; and some information can be derived from the Blue Book containing the report of the International Commission on turf-cutting, but the special authorities are scant indeed. Some day, when you want occupation, just try to find in any library, in any city of the world any works of a scientific character devoted to the subject. Nay more! Try to find a fair share of chapters in scientific books devoted to it. You can imagine how devoid of knowledge we are, when I can tell you that even the last edition of the 'Encyclopaedia Britannica' does not contain the heading 'bog' (71).

This lack of reference to the wetlands in Ireland poses a problem in classification for the two Englishmen and positions them as a naturally unknowable landscape to the English colonial project. This is further evidenced by Rod Giblett who suggests that this type of landscape 'defies empire' (20), thus placing the wetland as a threatening resistance to the imperial movement. Daly suggests that Dick's 'account of Irish bog land places it at the edge of British imperial knowledge' (48). It is evident that this is how Stoker wanted to represent such land as this ultimately demonstrates the ability of the narrative to represent an undermining of the English colonial rhetoric of the novel. The Gothic mode that Stoker adopts when describing the Irish landscape, and more explicitly the bog landscape, evokes the feeling that it will never be made knowable to the English colonial project because it is integral to the Irish culture. It is a landscape that is bound up with Irish history and is an important part of keeping the

Irish cultural past in the present Irish consciousness. This is evident in 'The Burial of the Rats', which draws a comparison between old French soldiers and revolutionaries, and the new French soldiers that followed them. The soldiers of the old guard are found living among a 'wild, swampy space' (143), a place that is evocative of Irish wasteland because it is beyond colonial classification. The old regiment of soldiers are hostile towards the Englishman who, like the Irish, position him as an outsider in their midst, regarding him with 'a very queer expression' (125). These French soldiers of the old guard would have been those attempting to help Ireland break free from English colonial control and as such, they present a threat towards the Englishman based upon such a historic connection with Ireland. In contemporary France, these old guardsmen, banished to the wasteland of the city, are still a stark reminder of the history of the French, and through the doubling that occurs between the French and the Irish, they also provide a reminder of Irish hostility in the face of an unjust English government. The Englishman is thus watched by the soldiers because he is someone who does not belong in their country; 'a stranger to such a place' (124). His attempts to map the unknown for the sake of the British imperial archive, a task which he describes as 'an unsavoury one, difficult of accomplishment' (123), is viewed by the French in the same way that the English were viewed by the Irish and further references the hostility between the English and the Irish. The imperial gaze of the Englishman is counteracted by the hostility of the old French guardsmen. This collusion of the old and the new plays itself out in many of Stoker's other novels, most notably *Dracula*, where the old feudal Count finds it difficult to immerse himself in modern day London. This collusion is also exhibited in *The Snake's Pass*, and will be considered later.

Ireland is referred to further in 'The Burial of the Rats' when the Englishman surveys the community that he enters for the first time. On entering the community of 'the old soldiers of the First Republic' (124), he notices that:

> There were a number of shanties or huts, such as may be met with in the remote parts of the Bog of Allan – rude places with wattled walls, plastered with mud and roofs of rude thatch made of stable refuse – such places as one would not like to enter for any consideration, and which even in water-colour could only look picturesque if judiciously treated (124).

The reference to the infamous Bog of Allan situates Stoker's short story further within a narrative of Ireland and completes the sense of doubling that has been created between the two areas. In referring to such a landscape, Stoker is situating the short story side by side with *The Snake's Pass*, which also carries a similar reference: Dick tells Arthur of 'some heroic measures being ultimately taken by the Government to reclaim the vast Bog of Allan which remains as a great evidence of official ineptitude' (71). Both of these references come through the figure of the English coloniser and further evoke the imperial gaze upon a landscape figured as unknowable, irreclaimable and therefore discontinuous and threatening to the British imperial project. By placing the soldiers in a landscape such as this, Stoker ultimately allegorises the rural Irish who also lived in such a landscape and provides a further source of doubling between the French and the Irish that recalls the Irish colonial problems in *The Snake's Pass*. In this context, the narrative of 'The Burial of the Rats' clearly functions as an allegory concerning both the French and the Irish, illustrating that the relationship between the two are far closer than previous critics

have acknowledged. In contrasting the French/Irish with the colonial English in this short story, Stoker is able to draw a sense of collusion between the Irish and the French in opposition to the colonial project of the English, and in doing so, serves to undermine the colonial narrative of the Englishman. By the conclusion of the narrative, the colonist is forced out of the wasteland 'in the blind anguish of the hunted' (146). In a sense, then, Stoker has turned the tables on the dominant Englishman and by the close of the narrative, the English hunter has become the inferior hunted as he becomes totally dependent on the new French army:

> from a gateway poured...a tide of red and blue, as the guard turned out. All around seemed blazing with light, and the flash of steel, the clink and rattle of arms, and the loud, harsh voices of command. As I fell forward, utterly exhausted, a soldier caught me. I looked back in dreadful expectation, and saw the mass of dark forms disappearing into the night. Then I must have fainted (147).

The description of the Englishman has dramatically changed from the representation of the colonial traveller at the beginning of the story. After the episode in which the old French soldiers try to murder him (which results in a chase through the wastelands and drains leading to the city) he becomes more feminised by Stoker, suggesting that his previous colonial threat has been turned into a form of cultural weakness. The attempt at being manly (and thus colonial) has been turned upon its head as the Englishman is reduced to a weak, feminised shadow of his former self. Such cultural weakening was feared by the British Empire around Stoker's time of writing and

after, as Max Nordau made theories of cultural degeneration popular. Greenslade suggests that:

> By the turn of the century the fate of the nation and the health of the mass of people had come to seem inseparable. The physical and moral consequences of poverty at home and the threat of imperial weakness abroad were repeatedly spoken of together.[20]

The imagery associated with the Englishman falling and fainting into the arms of the new French soldiers also reflects Jonathan Harker's feminisation in *Dracula* and was a typical way in which the English represented the Irish. This is further reiterated by Edward Lengel who refers to the 'tendency of both English and Irish writers to attribute "feminine" characteristics to the Irish.'[21] Nevertheless, Stoker reverses this tendency and places the English character as essentially feminine and weak, and by doing so, undermines the characteristics of the dominant colonial Englishman. Through feminising the English, Stoker shows up the weaknesses inherent within the British Empire, placing them as a country weaker than Ireland.

Throughout both *The Snake's Pass* and 'The Burial of the Rats', Stoker reverses the English perceptions placed upon the Irish, reversing the land dynamics of Ireland in order to undermine the colonial narrative. It is easy to perceive the narrative of 'The Burial of the Rats' as having no political visions, but this would be to ignore the intricacies of the story. For Stoker, the notion of cultural historicity is inherently linked with the landscape and this is evident through the positioning of the French army veterans in the French wasteland. To some extent, the old French are living off the French landscape and are connected with it through the metaphor of the rat, whose

function within the narrative is made horrifically clear at the end when the new French army attempts to find the veteran who tried to murder the Englishman:

> 'He is there!' and the speaker pointed to the bottom of the wardrobe. 'He died last night. You won't find much of him. The burial of the rats is quick!' The commissary stooped and looked in. Then he turned to the officer and said calmly: 'We may as well go back. No trace here now; nothing to prove that man was the one wounded by your soldiers' bullets' (150-51).

Stoker has created an entire system of dependency whereby the veterans live off, and are dependent on the French wasteland and the rats are dependent on the veterans. In this manner, the veterans are completely dependent on, and consumed by, the landscape they inhabit. The so-called 'City of Dust' (151) reflects this as it is made up of either dead or dying French veterans. Their connection with the French landscape is the ultimate closed relationship whereby land becomes completely knowable and continuous to them, to the extent that the rats feed off the carcasses of dead soldiers instead of the land; the veterans become the land. This relationship recalls the Irish connection with their landscape during the famine era, which was caused by the complete dependency of the Irish upon their land. For Stoker, the landscape provides the cultural historicity needed to function as a race. In terms of both Ireland and France, Stoker suggests that the need to become re-associated with the land will lead to a more coherent sense of cultural identity.

Outside of the physical relationship with landscape and, more specifically, bog land that reflects Stoker's Irish narratives, it is my contention that 'The Burial of the Rats' also allegorises the historical connections between Ireland and France through

the relationship established between the French revolutionaries and the English narrator. The hostility that the Englishman is met with works upon a system of reference that point back to the Irish rebellion against the English in 1796. As previously illustrated, this rebellion was aided by the French, and is further alluded to in *The Snake's Pass*. Through the construction of the Englishman with a penchant for exploring, Stoker allegorises the colonial perception of the Irish, which he maps onto the French revolutionaries that are living in the wastelands of France. However, when the quasi-explorer is chased from this landscape, it is my contention that Stoker idealises the Irish rebellion whereby the Irish attempted to remove the English from their shores with the help of a small French force. 'The Burial of the Rats' however, departs from the historical rebellion as the old French guard are successful in removing the English traveller from their wasteland, demonstrating that he is not welcome in those parts. Thus Stoker maps Irish cultural success onto the wastelands of France, as the dominance of the English is finally overcome by the French. Such a historical connection would ultimately not be lost on Stoker who, as previously illustrated, was told stories of such rebellions during his childhood, and whose ancestors actually assisted in the rebellion.

Stoker's use of waste landscapes in his writings also conveys another theme that is an important factor in the historical and political debates surrounding Ireland at the time. Through his construction of the wetland and his depiction of landscape in general, Stoker is able to write about the importance of land possession upon the Irish question of cultural identity and cultural unity. He does this through the narrative of the French/Irish relationship in 'The Burial of the Rats' by using the French to draw parallels to a sense of Irish cultural historicity based upon land. Stoker also constructs the colonial narrative in another way in the novel *The Snake's Pass* which is only

briefly alluded to in 'The Burial of the Rats', and that is through the notion of colonial land possession. Whilst the colonial gaze is firmly impressed upon the French landscape, the explorer does not have time enough to gain a full sense of colonial control over the land before the old veteran soldiers chase him from it. However, in Stoker's earlier novel, *The Snake's Pass*, the author displays what happens when the colonial gaze is developed into a successful physical dominance over the land through colonial means. The fact that Stoker sets this story in Ireland is also highly suggestive of how he attempts to play out the novel as a way of undermining and progressing from the English colonial project while restoring a sense of cultural identity, albeit in a new way. Essential in this is the way Stoker represents and plays out the narrative of the wetland in the novel. Here, the land is described as an in-between space, '...of something half liquid half solid, and of an unknown depth' (76). This is reminiscent of Giblett's suggestion that 'Ambivalence about wetlands rotates, as it were, around their in-betweenness. Wetlands are neither exclusively land nor purely water, but between land and water, or both land and water' (104). This liminality inherent to this landscape positions it as something that has to be owned and thus known as the imperial gaze is not sufficient to understand it. The imperial archive to which Dick refers does not consider wetlands and this creates amazement in both men as they cannot believe that no one has ever 'attempted much concerning them' (72). Following this discussion, the two men set themselves a task that will serve to further the imperial gaze upon the landscape through land reclamation which hitherto has not been achieved. By attempting to understand the landscape through physically dominating it, the colonial English can be seen to be stronger than the Irish. However, as Thomas Richards suggests, not all phenomena can be easily categorised by the imperial project. He writes that 'By resolving irresolution into a category of its own,

the monster-category is a tacit admission that all knowledge is neither comprehensive in scope nor logical in form.'[22] This is the problem with the bog in *The Snake's Pass*; it is not a *normal* wetland per se, but actually one that moves from land to land, making it useless. In this context, the landscape is figured as monstrous and uncanny because it can not be understood by the Englishmen according to a colonial logic. In a desperate bid to make the land knowable, the men resolve to:

> cure [the] bog by both a surgical and a medical process. We drain it so that its mechanical action as a sponge may be stopped, and we put in lime to ill the vital principle of its growth. Without the other, neither process is sufficient; but together, scientific and executive man asserts his dominance (72).

The Englishmen seek to assert their dominance over the land and to remove the lands which they are unable to understand coherently. Arthur suggests that on first seeing the wetland, it was 'quite worthy of being taken as the scene of strange stories, for it certainly had something 'uncanny' about it' (72). In suggesting the uncanniness of such lands, Arthur is positioning it as something that is unknowable and at the same time, something that is on the margins of the imperial archive and the British Empire. The idea of the landscape of Ireland being an uncanny space is reflective of Irish resistance, as it will never lend itself to be known, despite the attempts at mapping by the English colonists. In this sense, it is clear that Stoker illustrates the failure of the colonial project thus far, as the imperial gaze ultimately fails to represent Ireland in any coherent way according to a colonial logic. When this colonial gaze fails, the men attempt to create an archive of the bog through

> further investigations. Dick had out his note-book in an instant, and took accurate note of everything; he measured and probed the earth, tapped the rocks with a little geological hammer which he always carried, and finally set himself down to make an accurate map of the locality (95).

None of these attempts at creating an imperial archive of the Irish landscape provides Arthur or Dick with the colonial knowledge they require - that is, of physical dominance over the land. It is only through the removal of the wetland that they can fully attempt to come to own Ireland. This is because, as Rod Giblett notes, 'the slimy and the swampy is a threat to colonisation' (70). He suggests further and more importantly that there is a 'difficulty of mapping wetlands spatially because of their changing status temporally' (84). I would argue that if wetlands are difficult to map due to their changing status, then the landscape of *The Snake's Pass* would be near impossible to map, making it a threat to the progress of the British Empire. Hence Arthur and Dick revert to draining the land in order to gain a more physical sense of control over it.

Stoker makes the threat to colonisation that the Irish wetland represents clear in the novel. The colonial gaze is seen to be redundant in opposition to it, meaning that the only way for the colonisers to gain any sense of control over Ireland is through its removal. John, Earl of Shrewsbury demonstrates the importance of the drainage of wetlands further, writing in his *Hints Towards the Pacification of Ireland* (1844) that:

> they have not economized their turf, and they have not drained the unproductive bogs, because these were for a long time looked upon as the most effectual natural protection against the English. The English...have for

> centuries laboured at the draining of these, and lately again a company has been formed for the reclaiming of Irish bogs (16).

Through drainage, the English could effectively change Ireland from a country that is unknowable and unfamiliar (and thus uncanny because they cannot represent it coherently) to one that is physically altered in order to be known by the English, making the colonial ownership of Ireland more successful. Ironically, this is what the Englishman fails to do in 'The Burial of the Rats' as he is only able to reach an imperial connection with the French through a visual means. Stoker illustrates that this particular imperial traveller is not strong enough to successfully colonise the old French because they are connected to the land in ways beyond imperial visual recognition and understanding.

In *The Snake's Pass*, Stoker demonstrates that the only way Arthur and Dick can attempt to create an imperial impression on Ireland is through the drainage of such auspicious landscapes. Stoker shows that the removal of the bog is not as straightforward as the colonisers believe, as their drainage only serves to recall Irish cultural history in opposition to imperialism. This implies that in the colonial narrative, even land reclamation by the colonisers is futile. By considering land reclamation in Ireland, Stoker is linking Irish fiction with the harsh Irish reality drawn from real-life drainages, one of which is described by Harriet Martineau in her *Letters From Ireland* (1852). She writes that:

> Ireland contains very nearly 3,000,000 acres of bog: that six-sevenths of this amount lie between lines drawn from Wicklow Head to Galway, and from Howth Hill to Sligo; and that within that space, the greater proportion of bog

> lies west of the Shannon...The deep and wide drains are satisfactory to look upon; and so are the blue smokes where heaps of peat are burning with an intermixture of clay, - working the process of reclamation.[23]

Martineau illustrates the importance and satisfaction that the drainage of the Irish bogs gives to those in favour of the British Empire and its colonisation of Ireland. The Irish landscape is barren with 'black bogs' (71) all around, suggesting that to her and the British Empire, such lands were viewed in a quasi-Gothic way due to the fact that they were unknowable and figured uncanny because they defied representation. On entering Galway she writes, 'From the time we enter upon the district of the red petticoats – the red flannel and frieze, which form a part of the dress of most of the Galway people – things look better than in the brown and black region of the bog' (71). The Gothic narrative that she produces in order to describe these regions of Ireland suggest that for the English, there is no other way to describe it, other than in terms reminiscent of the Gothic. Stoker demonstrates this in his narrative when both Arthur and Dick describe the wetland in Gothic terms. This is also similar to the way in which the Englishman positions the French wastelands in 'The Burial of the Rats'. In both instances the Gothic narrative serves to reflect the difficulty the English have of successfully representing the landscape coherently. That which is unknowable to the imperial gaze is Gothicised and the only way this Gothic landscape narrative can be altered is by the physical transformation of the land. In this manner, Stoker is in effect undermining the colonial narrative by illustrating the uselessness of the imperial gaze upon the Irish landscape. He suggests that the only way the English can own land through colonial means in Ireland is by physically altering it and even this creates further problems for their imperial project as the removal of the bog positions

the colonisers back into another form of Irish history based around their relationship with France. Thus Giblett correctly notes that 'Wetlands are easy to defend and hard to attack' (205), signifying that the only means left open to the colonial English in their imperial attempt to dominate Ireland is though drainage. This is, however, not without its difficulties.

'We Felt That We Were One': England, France and Irish Regeneration.

Stoker's representation of Ireland as a place that is difficult to colonise and as a landscape that offers resistance to the imperial effort, is not as straightforward as one might believe. Despite the colonial English attempting to overcome and familiarise themselves with an Irish landscape figured as unknowable, *The Snake's Pass* also portrays two Irishmen fighting over the same landscape. The one, a gombeen man named Black Murdock is a greedy land agent who attempts to locate a treasure that was lost to the French Expeditionary force set to defend Ireland and is buried deep within the swampland. He takes over the land surrounding the bog, including the house of an Irish farmer, Phelim Joyce, in a desperate attempt to locate the treasure at all costs, and in doing so, moves Phelim Joyce and his daughter Norah from their farm onto his. This piece of land is, nevertheless, unworkable due to the vastness of the swamp that covers it. The struggle between the two plays out the theme of land ownership and even locates a colonial discourse within the narrative feud between the two men. Alison Milbank suggests that Black Murdock 'is the classic Gothic villain with omnivorous desires for power and represents the Gothic usurper' (15). However, if the novel constructs Murdock as the villain of the piece, which it inevitably does, it is interesting that Stoker should locate Murdock within a Gothic narrative of his own.

Previous uses for the Gothic mode of writing have been primarily associated with the wetland and more specifically the attempt to colonise the Irish landscape by the Englishmen. In 'The Burial of the Rats' Stoker creates an essentially Gothic account of the French wastelands as seen through the eyes of another Englishman. It is my contention that Stoker's Gothic is implicitly connected with the colonial narrative. Through positioning Murdock within a narrative that has Gothic connotations, the reader is drawn towards his image not as a Gothic usurper per se, but as another representation of a colonial discourse connected with Ireland. William Hughes suggests otherwise, writing that Murdock 'is an embodiment of Irish difference, a social institution whose position could not be generated under English conditions' (19). In opposition to this view, it is evident that Murdock's position in the novel is precisely that which *is* generated under English colonial conditions. Murdock represents the model of the Irishman turned land agent through the feudal landlord system operating within the country. Paul Murray suggests that:

> *The Snake's Pass* impressed contemporaries of differing political viewpoints. Not only did Gladstone respond favourably, but Michael Davitt, who founded the Land League which championed tenants' rights in opposition to landlordism ...replied...promising to say a "not unkindly word" in the *Labour World*.[24]

If the leader of the Land League in Ireland found the novel pleasing, the reason is because Stoker addresses such contentious Irish themes such as feudalism and landlordism through the character of Murdock. On first speaking of Murdock, the Irish peasants describe him as a man who '"has nayther law nor the fear iv the law. He's like wan that the Scriptures says 'grinds the faces iv the poor"' (28). This

description places Murdock outside the Irish cultural community and also outside of the Church. Murdock is represented as Other and is thus placed as an outsider to the rural Irish community. Thus, Stoker is able to connect the gombeen man with a form of English domination set up within the colonial narrative of the novel. The Irish folk suggest that '"He could lave this place if he chose an' settle in Galway – aye or in Dublin itself if he liked betther, and lind money to big min – landlords an' the like – instead iv playin' wid poor min here an' swallyin' them up, wan by wan"' (28). In his own way, Murdock represents the cultural dominance of the English imperial project coded through the feudal system enforced by the landlords within Ireland, and this reflects the colonial Gothic narrative that Stoker employs in order to represent the colonial perspective within the text. This is demonstrated by Daly, who notes that 'Black Murdock is the figure for [a] species of landlordism, combining the rapacity of the Gombeen man with a more feudal dimension' (79). Even though Murdock is an Irishman, he is a class of Irishman subservient to British imperial rule in Ireland.

The theme of land ownership is explicitly referenced throughout the feud between Murdock and Joyce, and in light of the new colonial relationship established between England and Murdock, this representation of a land feud can be perceived differently to that argued by recent critics. Glover suggests that Murdock stands 'as a metonym for rural violence' (34) and has constructed the law into a manner of creating oppression. Unfortunately Glover does not elaborate on this, even though it is clear that in using the law as a way of oppressing the Irish, Murdock is aligning himself with English colonial law, and this places him firmly within the colonial narrative of the text. Murdock's violence is that of rural oppression through the creation of colonial law and forced rule. The notion of forced rule is made evident when Murdock takes over the Joyce farm through a form of mock legality; '"He sould

the lease iv the farrum known as the Shleenanaher in open sale, in accordance wid the terrums of his notice, duly posted, and wid warnin' given to the houlder iv the lease"' (39). The use of this mock legal proceeding administered by Murdock reflects the oppressive laws exerted upon the Irish by the colonial English and furthermore, demonstrates the uselessness of the Irish condition under British domination. Through this mock legality, Murdock is able to swap his own unworkable land for the more favourable farm of his neighbour. Dick points out to Arthur that Joyce's farm:

> is almost an ideal one for this part of the world; it has good soil, water, shelter, trees, everything that makes a farm pretty and comfortable, as well as being good for farming purposes; and he has to change it for a piece of land as irregular in shape as the other is compact; without shelter, and partly taken up with this very bog and the utter waste and chaos which, when it shifted in former times, it left behind (68).

Through this swapping of lands for better ones, Stoker implies that Murdock is a representative of the feudal class of landlords, who according to Lengel 'continued their abuse of the peasantry' (70) and whose 'greed...was largely blamed' (101) for the famine in Ireland. By enforcing his own colonial law, the moneylender (Murdock) is able to possess the land of Joyce's farm in a manner reminiscent of colonial violence, which serves to further illustrate feudal oppression in Ireland. However, it becomes clear that Murdock does not want the land simply for ownership, but for power and to satisfy his own greed. To Murdock, land is not a cultural base, but a commodity to be owned and to fuel his own greed for both money and power. It becomes evident that Murdock is seeking to locate the treasure lost by the French

expedition in Killala, a treasure that the gombeen man seeks to keep all for himself. In doing so, Stoker is aligning the inherent greed of Murdock with the greed of the landlords in Ireland and ultimately with the greed of the English government in colonising Ireland. By aligning Murdock with greed and a need for power, Stoker positions him within the colonial rhetoric of the novel even though he is an Irishman, suggesting that his sensibilities lie closer to the colonial English rather than the rural Irish. Despite being an Irishman, Murdock aspires to become a colonial representative of the British Empire within Ireland. He is described further as:

> a man that linds you a few shilling's or a few pounds whin ye want it bad, and then niver laves ye till he had tuk all ye've got – yer land an' yer shanty an' yer holdin' an' yer money an' yer craps; an' he would take the blood out of yer body if he could sell it or use it anyhow! (28).

In many ways this passage could be describing the English rule in Ireland as the English government were seen to be vampire-like and responsible for draining Ireland of its economic wealth, making it a poverty-stricken place. In an anonymous letter to Lord John Russell, the writer (who takes on the identity of the female figure of Hibernia, and thus speaking for Ireland) describes Ireland as being 'in distress, caused by the Potato failure, Poor Landlords, and Bad Prospects.'[25] Through Murdock, Stoker is able to show the failure of the English colonial rule upon Ireland and the negative impact of this rule upon the condition of the country. If Murdock 'functions as a negative Other' (19) in the novel, as Hughes suggests, it is because of Stoker's positioning of him as a vampire that is draining Ireland's economy to fuel his own power lust and colonial endeavour. Stoker demonstrates throughout the narrative that

the negative colonial Other can only have a destructive impact upon the condition of Ireland.

The death of Murdock in the bog cannot be ignored as a symbolic gesture serving to undermine the colonial rhetoric that Murdock, Arthur and Dick are drawn into. Stoker is also able to recall Irish history connected with France in order to reconstruct a new hybrid cultural identity that does not rely upon colonial ideology. Through connecting Murdock and the wetland in his death, Stoker is able to reconnect Murdock with the Irish landscape in order to undermine his colonial leanings. The death of Murdock is thus symbolic to Stoker's undermining and removal of colonialism from the novel and the re-establishment of a non-colonial order in Ireland. Murdock, influenced by colonialism, is removed from Ireland by the land itself in a metaphorical purging which washes him into the sea.

Murdock's demise (which is bound up within the imagery of Irish cultural historicity) banishes the colonial (and thus Gothic) narrative from the novel and begins Stoker's regeneration of Ireland along non-colonial lines. Stoker's positioning of Murdock within the narrative of Irish mythology is also telling, as this connection is highly suggestive of Stoker's ideals of overcoming colonial oppression in Ireland and creating a sense of cultural unification through re-writing the symbolic and mythical history of the country. Murdock is continually referred to by his rural Irish subjects as being in some way connected to the mythic narrative concerning the banishment of a colony of snakes from the Irish landscape. The locals suggest that:

> it's a mighty quare thing anyhow that the hill beyant has been singled out for legends and stories and gossip iv all kinds conarnin' shnakes an' the like. An' I'm not so sure, naythur, that some iv thim isn't there shtill – for mind ye!

> it's a mighty curious thin' that the bog beyant keeps shiftin' till this day. And I'm not so sure, naythur, that the shnakes has all left the hill yit! (27).

The locals suggest further that the snake is '"a black shnake too!"' (27), and in doing so, they connect the snake with Murdock. The placing of Murdock within the mythological colony of snakes inscribes him within a narrative of colonisation in Ireland; one based upon myth, the other based on reality. However, Murdock is disliked by both the Englishmen and the Irish for reasons that become clear when one reconsiders his connection with colonisation through the mythological narrative. Like the King of Snakes, Murdock is the 'the whole govermint' (20) in Ireland, and whilst the two Englishmen endeavour to carefully map out the unknown landscape that is figured as discontinuous to them and try to colonise Ireland from the outside in, Murdock is able to colonise Ireland from the inside out.

Despite functioning as the negative Other, it is evident that Murdock is highly aware of the landscape that he lives off. In connecting him with the imagery of the King of Snakes, Stoker is able to further demonstrate Murdock's relationship with the Irish landscape as a landscape that he feeds off in order to abate his greed. Through inscribing Murdock within the symbolism of the snake, however, Stoker is again able to construct a double narrative which implicitly undermines the colonial theme of the text and which through the death of Murdock, provides a fitting ending to the mythology of the snake colony and to Murdock himself. Interestingly, it is Murdock's greed, illustrated by his search for the treasure, which ultimately leads to his downfall. His connection with the swamp has not been a cultural connection based upon his Irishness, but one of greed and power. In this context, he is positioned further within the colonial narrative that is responsible for his death as Stoker recalls the imagery

connected with the banishment of the colony of snakes into the sea, providing a sense of cultural closure to the Irish mythology. Murdock, who is doubly inscribed within the colonial narrative through his alliances with an English rhetoric of colonialism and through a rhetoric of colonialism based upon Irish cultural mythology, is killed when the bog moves towards his house following increased efforts by the two Englishmen to drain it because it was 'swollen with rain' (327). The bog, however, finally bursts and in doing so traps Murdock and his house beneath it:

> The whole house began to sink into the earth – to sink as a ship founders in a stormy sea, but without the violence and turmoil that marks such a catastrophe. There was something more terrible – more deadly in that silent, careless destruction than in the devastation of the earthquake or the hurricane...By this time Murdock's house had sunk almost level with the bog. He had climbed on the thatched roof, and stood there looking towards us...but then it began to sink...Murdock threw up his arms – we heard his wild cry as the roof of the house, and he with it, was in an instant sucked below the surface of the heaving mass. Then came the terrible convulsion. With a rushing sound, and the noise of a thousand waters falling, the whole bog swept, in waves of gathering size, and with a hideous writhing, down the mountain-side to the entrance of the Shleenanaher – struck the portals with a sound like thunder, and piled up to a vast height. And then millions of tons of slime and ooze, and bog and earth, and broken rock swept through the Pass into the sea (334-35).

The double narrative of colonialism represented by the snakes (and Murdock) and that of the English imperial project is completely deconstructed by the removal of the

wetlands. The Irish myth which connected Murdock with the King of Snakes is ultimately resolved through the replaying of the washing away of the snakes into the sea, an event which mythically reinstates St Patrick as the head of Ireland. This event also banishes the colonial threat of the snakes, as well as undermining the colonial position of the negative Other through Murdock's demise. In a scene reminiscent of Irish retribution, the land that Murdock has oppressed through his own injustice becomes his murderer. The relationship between land and landowner is reversed as the bog becomes reconstructed as unknowable to Murdock who is too preoccupied with his own greed to notice the danger that the land poses to him and his colonial exercise. In an act of cultural retribution, the land punishes him for his colonial greed. Thus his death and the removal of the wetland appear to be attempts at literary catharsis by Stoker, who mythically returns the human form of the King of Snakes back to the sea.

The most important part of the novel in terms of regenerating Ireland according to Stoker's own ideologies comes through the representation of the buried French treasure that is found following the washing away of the marsh at the novel's end. With the swamp gone, Arthur and Dick are able to further explore the land that had previously been rendered useless. In doing so, they find a reminder of the Irish threat to colonial order imposed upon the country by themselves: 'at the base of a lofty rock, lay a wooden chest. The top was intact, but one of the lower corners was broken, as though with a fall; and from the broken aperture had fallen out a number of coins, which we soon found to be of gold' (348). While exploring the chest, the Englishmen also find the skeletons of French soldiers who had obviously become lost to the Irish landscape while defending both the treasure and Ireland, to which Dick says '"Poor fellows...they did their duty nobly. They guarded their treasure to the last"' (349). He

goes on to suggest that the swamp has the capacity to '"preserve [France's] sons."' (349) This preservation of history metaphorically recalls the French-Irish relationship that Stoker later writes into the narrative of 'The Burial of the Rats', and also reflects Giblett's view that wetlands 'are the place of the remembrance of things past yet to come' (21). The wetland of the novel is in fact a place where Irish cultural history is played and re-played, evident through the representation of the myth of the snakes through Murdock and also through the relocating of the French treasure, which recalls the capacity of the Irish to resist British Imperialism. The marsh provides a latent reminder to the Irish of their own cultural historicity and more importantly, power.

While Stoker undermines a feudal colonial threat posed by Murdock through the removal of the bog, the French treasure found thereafter furthers Stoker's literary undermining of the imperial threat posed by the Englishmen Arthur Severn and Dick Sutherland. On finding the skeletons of the French soldiers still protecting their treasure, Dick suggests that '"France should be proud of such sons! It would make a noble coat of arms, this treasure chest sent by freemen to aid others – and with two such supporters"' (349). This last phrase is telling of the removal of the Englishmen from a Gothic rhetoric of imperialism to a new one of cultural regeneration based upon cultural unity, which ironically seems to derive from French cultural politics. Michel Fuchs suggests that during the French Revolution, the French definition of a nation was one whereby 'all men are free and equal and enjoy the right of resistance to oppression.'[26] It is evident that Stoker offers the same kind of definition for Ireland in his novel. For Stoker, the real threat in the novel was Murdock who was so influenced by feudalism through British imperialism that he could not change, making cultural unification impossible because he was tied to an imperial form of progress made possible through greed and commodification of land. This is very different for

the Englishmen, who demonstrate the ideological capacity of the English to change their perception of Ireland and the Irish. For Arthur, this change of perception comes through his marriage to Norah, representing a form of cultural hybridity between the English and the Irish which Arthur further exemplifies at the very close of the novel. This implies that the imperial hierarchy has been replaced by a form of cultural hybridity based upon equality. Arthur states that 'There was never a cloud to shadow our sunlit way; and we felt that we were one' (365). This passage illustrates the complete change of narrative between the beginning of the novel and its close. At the beginning, Ireland was figured as a dark, unwelcoming and discontinuous place, reflecting Stoker's colonial view of Ireland. By the close of the novel, with the colonial narrative removed, Ireland has become a welcoming place of light; a continuous space that has lost all of the Gothic connotations of uncanniness and in-betweenness that represented Ireland under colonial rule. Ireland is now regenerated into a place that does not need to be mapped as the colonial project is undermined. The removal of the wetland, which represents not the removal of a threatening landscape so much as a threatening person (Murdock), is not figured as a colonial success to the English, but a cultural success to the Irish, who have now created new supporters of their cause through the de-colonising of the Englishmen. Instead of using the treasure to finance further colonisation of Irish land, the Englishmen offer it to Joyce who suggests that he will take it '"but not for meself. The money was sent for Ireland's good – to help them that wanted help, an' plase God! I'll see it doesn't go asthray now!"' (349). Thus the two Englishmen are now reconstructed into supporters of Ireland's success through a non-colonial means.

In order to completely undermine the colonial narrative and banish it irrevocably from the text, Stoker writes that Arthur sends Norah to a French school so

that she may be educated in a non-colonial way. In doing so, Stoker is referencing the historical connection between Ireland and France in overcoming British colonialism, as well as the wider French and Irish cultural connection suggested by Fuchs: 'The average tourist might say that Ireland is in many ways the most French of all the countries contaminated by the English language [and is] the quintessence of all that is blessedly anti-British' (128). By sending Norah to France, Arthur is able to illustrate a new sense of cultural unification between Ireland, England and France, as once again, France becomes a refuge for the Irish. This time, however, Norah is sent there in order to better her English, thus reconciling the English and the Irish through a sense of cultural unification and racial proximity. Paul Murray concludes that 'Stoker was concerned to create reconciliatory scenarios in which idealistic solutions triumphed over the sordid realities of division and violence' (160) which is most evident within the *The Snake's Pass.*

Through the narrative, Stoker certainly created a reconciliatory scenario which undermines a narrative of Gothic imperialism. Through the reaffirmation of Irish cultural historicity inherent in the relationship with the French, Stoker is able to offer a new vision of Ireland in which the English and the Irish can exist in an undivided way. At the close of the novel, the liminal landscape of Ireland has been regenerated into 'exquisite gardens [with] the murmur of water...everywhere' (359). Glover mistakenly suggests that in doing so, Arthur does not lose his colonial representation but instead 're-creates his English country seat in the heart of Galway, truly turning Knockcalltecrore into "a fairyland"' (50). However, in opposition to this, it is my contention that the gardens Arthur has created are not the product of a colonial endeavour, but represent Stoker's ideology of recreating Ireland in a newly unified way. To this end, Stoker creates a Garden of Eden in the Irish landscape, into which

Arthur and Norah become refigured as a highly idealised Irish version of Adam and Eve. This is a place where Norah's 'dear mother [could] look down from Heaven' (364) and where Norah is given the Lost Crown in a moment that recalls the Irish myth of the banishment of the snake colony from the Irish land. Thus the colony of snakes represented by Murdock is replaced with a newly acquired hybrid mother figure for Ireland in the form of Norah. Stoker symbolically crowns Norah as the spirit of Ireland in a ceremony figured by Arthur as 'perfect' (354). In this way, Stoker is able to further undermine the colonial rhetoric of the novel, and thus brings together the Catholic and Protestant religions in the symbolic re-creation of the Garden of Eden and the figure of Erin, which is reconstructed through Norah.

Through the relationship with the French, Stoker reconstructs Ireland as a unified and hybrid place that aligns itself with his own political leanings towards a Gladstonian version of Home Rule in Ireland. This is characterised by a sense of unification between Ireland and England rather than complete separation. Paul Murray further illustrates Stoker's political leanings towards Ireland, stating that:

> The wider economic aspects of *The Snake's Pass* were also rooted in contemporary perceptions. Great hopes were entertained of large-scale economic development following the achievement of Home Rule; indeed, it was believed that Ireland possessed great mineral wealth that the British government was not allowing to be exploited (159).

Within *The Snake's Pass*, Stoker does not forget the economic importance of a union between England and Ireland and suggests that by re-uniting the English with the Irish in a non-colonial way, both countries can ultimately become familiar and prosperous.

It will be now be illustrated how Stoker's later Gothic narratives demonstrate the fear of cultural degeneration in the face of burgeoning empires in Europe and how this threat is played out by Stoker in order to restore a sense of equality between England and Ireland.

Chapter Two

Bram Stoker's Nightmare of Invasion: *Dracula* and *The Lady of the Shroud* and the Colonial Threat to Cultural Unification.

As previously demonstrated in *The Snake's Pass* and 'The Burial of the Rats', Stoker draws upon the themes associated with the adventure novel in order to tell stories which deal with the colonial. Upon closer examination, however, Stoker's writings are not this formulaic. Instead of showing the travellers in his narratives to be merely travellers, Stoker also tends to give them objectives such as the attempt to know a landscape or place for the purpose of possession. In this context, Stoker's adventure writings can be viewed as accounts which imply colonisation and cultural expansion. This is evident throughout the narratives of *The Snake's Pass* and 'The Burial of the Rats' as well as many of his later writings. In both the aforementioned pieces, the explorer (also figured as colonist) displays his own affinity for his country and thus views the new territory as a colonial possession. This brings the cultural politics of the day into sharp focus within the minds of the readers, representing the increasing interest regarding the expansion of the British Imperial Movement in Ireland.

Within this chapter, I will argue that Stoker's narratives concerning Empire refer directly to the colonial conception of Ireland in the late nineteenth century and reflect British Imperial thought. This chapter will demonstrate the growing British anxiety of cultural degeneration and the effects of such degeneration upon British territorial possession and the construction of national identity in Britain and Ireland. Throughout *Dracula* and *The Lady of the Shroud* it will be proposed that Stoker's most colonial novels serve to reflect a Britain susceptible to reverse-colonisation as

Arata suggests, but also represents a moving beyond Arata's claim that *Dracula* is a novel which demonstrates the perception that 'the entire nation – as a race of people, as a political and imperial force, as a social and cultural power – was in irretrievable decline.'[1] I would argue further that Stoker writes of the cultural, political and social renewal of Britain based upon cultural hybridity and unification with Ireland in order to make the nation powerful again and not succumb to degeneration. In doing so, Stoker is able to reflect upon the perceived condition of Britain and provide a solution to its plight of cultural weakness.

By moving on from a narrative of colonialism and overcoming the colonial danger posed from 'the Orient', the author reasserts British social stability and power through cultural integration. This also has considerable ramifications for Irish economic stability as Stoker debates the importance of Home Rule based upon an equal unification with England and contributing to the strengthening of the British Empire. This will be traced through the construction of Dracula himself and his close associations with the English traveller, Jonathan Harker, reflecting how the perceived decline in Victorian Britain is coded through the construction of both characters. Similarly, this decline will also be traced through Stoker's construction of sexuality, gender and violence within the novel. This chapter will also demonstrate how Stoker suggests overcoming this decline and how the novels *Dracula* and *The Lady of the Shroud* can ultimately be read as Victorian allegories of cultural unification. This is evidenced by Paul Murray who suggests that Stoker sought to write novels that explicitly dealt with bringing two factions together through 'reconciliatory scenarios in which idealistic solutions triumphed over the sordid realities of division and violence.'[2] This is clearly seen in *The Snake's Pass* when Arthur Severn (an English traveller) becomes romantically involved with an Irish peasant girl and, who through

marriage, gains a sense of cultural unity within Ireland. In doing so, Stoker's early novels clearly show that his cultural politics lay close to a kind of liberalism attributed to William Gladstone. Instead of merely writing of the British Colonial project (and also illustrating the power of colonial expansion) Stoker tends to undermine the threat of this cultural expansion and replaces it with his own liberal cultural politics of peaceful unification with England.

As Stoker's novels progress, the sense of portraying the strength of British colonisation seems to diminish as the colonial travellers are replaced by those who seek cultural unification and who represent the peaceful expansion of Britain, such as Rupert Sent Ledger in *The Lady of the Shroud.* Rupert seeks not to colonise the fictional Land of the Blue Mountains via aggressive means, but to gain a sense of cultural unification with the natives based upon equality and thus to create a buffer state in the Balkans in order to aid both Britain's and Vissarion's economic security and strength. William Hughes writes that 'In the novel, the political map of Europe is imaginatively redrawn...and...this action, brokered by Rupert Sent Ledger [is] overseen by the British monarch Edward VII.'[3] However, it is not merely the political map of Europe that is redrawn through Rupert's actions; I would argue that the colonial consciousness of Britain is re-imagined in a peaceful way. This is reflected in the conditions of inheritance of the Balkan nation given by Sent Ledger's uncle, who suggests that 'you are to make the Blue Mountains – in part, at least – your home, living there a part of the year.'[4] In doing so, Rupert is not sent on a colonial task per se, but rather is given the task of uniting the disparate elements of the primitive nation and safeguarding them from attack by other countries - in this case Turkey. In a wider context, this amounts to protecting a seemingly weak Britain from the burgeoning threat of Germany. Ruth Robbins disagrees, however, suggesting that 'The 1909

novel is not so frightening a story because instead of narrating invasion, it tells of a quasi-colonial enterprise.'[5] This is certainly one way of looking at the novel, as it appears that Rupert enters the primitive landscape in an attempt to provide a 'civilizing influence' (xi). It is my contention that Stoker undermines this sense of the colonial precisely because Rupert does not provide a model of colonial aggression. He suggests to the natives that he is attempting to achieve:

> the security and consolidation of your country – of *our* country, for I have come to live amongst you. Here is my home whilst I live. I am with you heart and soul. I shall live with you, fight shoulder to shoulder with you, and, if need be, shall die with you! (80).

In this sense, Rupert is more of an appeaser than a colonial aggressor to the Balkan nation. Indeed, Stoker undermines any colonial form of narrative by suggesting the unifying presence of Rupert when he writes 'That would be a nuisance when we are finding our way about in a new country and trying to reconcile all sorts of opposites' (58). In suggesting such an attempt to gain unity in the country, Stoker is moving away from any colonial narrative based upon inequality on the part of Rupert and Britain, suggesting that the goal of unification is far more important to him. Indeed, at the close of the novel this fact is reiterated when it is suggested that 'Rupert and Teuta live in the hearts of that people, and bind them into an irresistible unity' (258). The sense of possession that Stoker writes in *The Lady of the Shroud* is not a colonial ownership but the gaining of a landscape upon equal terms in order to both safeguard Vissarion and ultimately make Britain stronger. This has the effect of making the primitive Blue Mountaineers into 'a new world-power' (255), reflecting Stoker's own

wish-fulfilment of national and cultural unity. It seems that the novel furthers Stoker's own liberal politics of Home Rule, and in such a context, the situation of the Blue Mountains seems to reflect Stoker's utopian construction of Ireland, whereby Ireland is deemed equal to Britain, suggesting that the novel is a version of 'Irish' fiction transposed within an 'unknown' Europe. In the context of the Balkan state, Stoker constructs a model of cultural unity to which Ireland itself can aspire as the construction of Rupert mirrors William Gladstone who served to attempt to unite the opposing countries of England and Ireland through a liberal version of Home Rule. The novel also further advocates Stoker's own preoccupation with British aggressive Imperialism that had altered to incorporate the peaceful expansionism of Britain in order to overcome the 'threat of imperial weakness'[6] that lurked within a wider Europe. The novel, then, marks Stoker's shift from representing aggressive imperialism within Britain towards re-locating it as a threat from further afield.

Certainly, by the time Stoker writes *The Jewel of Seven Stars*, his preoccupation with the might of British Imperialism is diminishing and is replaced with the fear of colonisation of Britain by a force which lies outside of the British Isles and projects from what Said terms the Orient. Said suggests in *Orientalism* that 'Britain...[was] the pioneer nation in the Orient [and] dominated the Eastern Mediterranean from about the end of the seventeenth century on.'[7] The rhetoric associated with the Orient became 'a western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient' (3). For the colonisers, then, the matter of possession of a landscape is an important signifier of English power over such Oriental and thus 'primitive' races. Stoker's later novels illustrate that this sense of English power is becoming a fragile one that could be overcome by the right opposition. Nevertheless, in novels such as *Dracula* (1897) and *The Lady of the Shroud*, the theme of possession becomes

compounded into a narrative which reflects the growing battle for cultural supremacy between a degenerate and thus weakened Britain and an Orient growing more powerful due to the weakening of its coloniser and supremacist, Britain. It is my contention in this chapter to consider the effects of narratives of degeneration upon the psyche of British Imperialism, leading Stoker to re-locate the representation of the colonist from the British (as previously illustrated in *The Snake's Pass* and 'The Burial of the Rats') towards the burgeoning empires of Germany and, in particular, America.

By the close of both *Dracula* and *The Lady of the Shroud*, America is represented in an ambiguous way. Andrew Smith reiterates this ambiguity, suggesting that 'Stoker revises his view of America as he comes to perceive it as a threat to Britain's own colonial ambitions and consequently to Ireland's economic progress'[8] which impinges upon the equal unification of Britain and Ireland. It is my contention that throughout the narratives of *Dracula* and, to a lesser extent, *The Lady of the Shroud*, Stoker displays the further propensity of unification between a lesser colonial England and Ireland. This is achieved through the allegorical unification of opposing factions, a theme that is also prevalent within the narratives of the earlier novel *The Snake's Pass* and the short story 'The Burial of the Rats'. As in the earlier texts, the concept of ownership of landscapes and the gaining of other landscapes allegorise Stoker's liberal politics concerning the Irish Question. However, Michael Barsanti disagrees with the contention that *Dracula* represents Stoker's illustration of a weakening British Empire and the invention of a rhetoric of unification, suggesting that *Dracula* is associated with parasitic British colonial power and that 'the novel as a whole constitutes a thinly veiled fantasy of revolution and independence.'[9] Barsanti views the novel as one that merely shows British colonial supremacy over the

Oriental subjects instead of suggesting a moving on from such colonial politics. However, I would argue that in *The Snake's Pass* and his later writings, Stoker does move away from British colonial narratives. This is perhaps most notable in *Dracula* which illustrates the re-positioning of the colonial narrative onto the weaker Oriental countries, before settling on the true danger of American expansionism.

To merely view *Dracula* as a fiction which displays Stoker's colonial fears is perhaps to overlook the more intricate evaluations of the colonial that Stoker uses in the novel through references to degeneration and the emergence of stronger and more aggressive empires located within the East and beyond. This is represented in the *The Lady of the Shroud*, as the Blue Mountaineers, whilst primitive, 'were unconquerable [and] had fought with a fervour and fury that nothing could withstand or abate' (33). The primitive Blue Mountaineers are constructed as being unconquerable and stronger than Britain because of this, further reflecting the perceived weakness of the British race and their increasing fear of reverse colonisation. Indeed, Rupert becomes not so much a civilising influence upon the Blue Mountaineers as a leader of a 'fierce [nation] who resent the very presence of a stranger, and to whom you are, and must be, one.' (46) This also reflects Stoker's position on Ireland which the British viewed as primitive and Other, but which did not require a civilising influence insofar as they needed a leader to stand for their cause. Stoker saw this kind of leadership in William Gladstone, who attempted to reconcile Ireland and England through the contentious Irish Question. Indeed the representation of Ireland mirrors the British construction of the fictional Vissarion as 'propagandists for conquest and settlement in Ireland argued that there was no true civil society there, because of features like comparatively little urbanisation.'[10] However, as Rupert finds out, the Blue Mountaineers are 'so proud and reserved that they make one feel quite small, and an 'outsider' as well' (59). The

Mountaineers, then, make Rupert feel like the outsider as despite being figured as primitive, they are stronger and more proud than the British race. The 'weaker' British are represented through the character of the 'dreadful' (203) Ernest Melton, positioned as a feudal landowner who is unable to see the importance of the construction of a new kind of narrative figured through unity. Barsanti, then, is correct to suggest that in *Dracula*, on one level, the Count does reflect previous British incarnations of the colonial (as does Rupert Sent Ledger through his gaining of Vissarion from his rather feudal Uncle). However, Barsanti ignores the emergence of the degeneration 'movement' that occurred during the period. During the time of writing and publishing *Dracula*, H.G. Wells and Max Nordau had both developed theories about the concerns of cultural degeneration. However, it was Nordau's polemical *Degeneration* (1892) that was the most culturally provoking, and it cannot be ignored within a consideration of the socio-political landscape that surrounded the emergence of *Dracula*. Also during this time, many social critics were re-examining the British Empire and what they found was equally shocking; the country (and thus the Empire) was perceived to be weakened through the breeding of so-called degenerates, culminating in a weakened race of which London was the cultural centre. Narratives such as Andrew Mearns's *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London: An Inquiry into the Conditions of the Abject Poor* (1883), Charles Booth's *Life and Labour of the People of London* (1889) and William Booth's *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (1890), all served to reflect the degenerate conditions of the British in London. The latter even employs language associated with Orientalism in order to best describe the degeneracy and savagery that existed within London. Hence, to merely associate *Dracula* with a narrative of British colonial aggression, and thus colonial strength, would be to ignore the contradictory cultural feeling of weakness and degeneration

that existed at the time of writing and publication. On the contrary, Stoker makes direct reference to the work of eminent criminologists of the time such as Cesare Lombroso, suggesting that he was more than aware of the degeneration movement and its implications upon the concept of empire at the *fin de siécle*. The novel represents the reversal of power, positioning the Orient as stronger than the British Empire whilst *The Lady of the Shroud* represents the construction of a version of the Imperial based upon unity for the means of staving off other burgeoning Empires like Germany and America. Murray adds further authority to this context of the novels, writing that:

> In a wider context, *Dracula* is viewed as a late nineteenth-century narrative of reverse colonisation in which the 'civilised' world is threatened with being overrun by 'primitive' forces. This links to perceived problems in Britain itself, with disruptive figures, mirroring imperial practices in monstrous form, coming from the periphery of empire to threaten its troubled metropolis (199).

Stoker illustrates in the novel that the British Empire is no longer one to be feared as it is an empire that is being weakened due to perceived deviations from the cultural norm as the narratives of degeneration further reflect. Whilst Murray correctly states that *Dracula* is a novel preoccupied with reverse colonisation, it is my contention that Stoker is also interested in re-affirming British strength through cultural unity. Through his narrative of degeneration and colonisation then, Stoker encodes a way to transcend the nightmare vision of a colonised Britain. What is unique about the novel, however, is that these Victorian fears are located side by side with their proposed outcomes. The novel represents such fears of cultural weakness and the degeneration

of a once strong empire and culminates in the emergence of a new kind of British Empire that is strengthened through the equal unification between Britain and other countries, most notably Ireland. In this vein, Stoker creates a new rhetoric for the British Empire through the undermining of the colonial and its replacement with a form of Empire based upon equality. This rhetoric ultimately dwells upon cultural similarities rather than differences, as demonstrated in the two novels through the blurring of boundaries that represent cultural differences, in order to bring them closer together. In this way, Stoker plays out his unification narrative which will now be explored further.

Primitivity, Duality and The Return of the Repressed.

As already noted, the theme which runs through most of Stoker's writing is the theme of possession. It can be traced through the narratives *The Snake's Pass* and 'The Burial of the Rats' to *Dracula* and *The Lady of the Shroud* and further to *The Jewel of Seven Stars*. However, the way in which Stoker deals with conceptions of possession and territory is developed across the novels. The concept of possession of the Irish landscape of Knockalltecrore differs considerably to Dracula's possession of London. The Englishmen in *The Snake's Pass* attempt to map the unknown landscape of Ireland, figured as Oriental and unfamiliar to them by their English imperial politics. However, the Count's attempt to become like an Englishman and to, in effect, fit into English life, demonstrates his colonial strength, whilst ambivalently reflecting his form of degeneration which places him into a London that is perceived to be degenerating and thus already weakening. He functions as both coloniser and degenerate. In this sense, Dracula becomes far more than a colonial imitator or even a

London degenerate: he demonstrates what Bhabha suggests is a colonial mimic. Jacques Lacan exemplifies Bhabha's construction of mimicry writing that 'the effect of mimicry is camouflage...It is not a question of harmonizing with the background, but against a mottled background, of becoming mottled – exactly like the technique of camouflage practiced in human warfare.'[11] Thus to become a colonial mimic is to show an ability towards colonial aggression. Bhabha further reminds us that 'mimicry, as the metonymy of presence is, indeed, such an erratic, eccentric strategy of authority in colonial discourse.'[12] This mimicry occurs from an eccentric presence, suggesting that to become an insider, the coloniser (or outsider) must *appear* to be an insider. It follows that in order to successfully colonise Britain, the Count must become *like* the British race and thus *fit in*. Through mimicking Harker, the Count attempts to become a bourgeois, modern male when in reality he is an Old World degenerate.

The Count evokes the proximity of the degenerate to the bourgeois Londoner through his ability to *become like* Harker, further suggesting that the threat to Britain comes from within. However, this mimicry - this becoming similar to someone else, but not quite the same - reflects Stoker's own sense of ambiguity towards the proximity of the degenerate to the Londoner. Indeed, it is the Count's construction of Harker in London that ultimately leads to his downfall because he is incapable of becoming fully modern. What the Count represents is the old world in a new world preoccupied with technological advancement. While Harker learns to become a man of action who can use such new technology, the Count merely represents a form of racial degeneracy through his inability to do so. Sally Ledger reiterates Stoker's illustration of the Count as a representation of racial weakness in Britain, stating 'The blood-sucking metaphor is clearly related to the draining of energy, of life's blood,

from the British 'race.'[13] It is no coincidence then, that to defeat the Count, Harker and the other characters are required to become stronger through unification which is illustrated through their formation of a close unit. Mina Harker suggests that 'we unconsciously formed a sort of board or committee.'[14] In the guise of Harker, then, the Count represents a colonial mimic as he is taking Harker's identity in order to colonise Britain from within. However, the Count unwittingly represents British weakness as he mimics a weaker model of an Englishman in the midst of Victorian cultural degeneracy. Thus the Count's mimicry is a mimicry of cultural degeneration. Through this representation of the Count as colonial mimic and thus a form of British racial weakness, Stoker depicts the Count as a warning against the weakening of the British Empire.

The Count as a degenerate/bourgeois mimic serves to reflect the fears of the *fin de siécle* and in this sense he represents the realisation of these fears of cultural degeneration and weakness. As colonial mimic the Count is able to traverse many different presences at once, simultaneously being unfamiliar, familiar, eccentric and centric to the bourgeoisie. In doing so, the Count is a physical reflection of what Britain could become and is the unifying factor within the novel. The Count unifies the bourgeoisie of London as they attempt to overcome what he represents: an urban race weakened through degeneration. Murray furthers the construction of Count as a unifying factor in the novel as he suggests that Stoker's 'notes list Dracula's attributes, including connections with immortality, and obscurely, with Gladstone' (172). Stoker's association between the Count and William Gladstone is reflected by the ability of the Count to unite many different fronts through transgressing the boundaries of presence, which in an Irish context remained important to Stoker for the unification of Ireland with England and for Home Rule in Ireland. As previously

illustrated, Stoker constructs the character of Rupert as being similar to Gladstone in *The Lady of the Shroud*, demonstrating through his characters the importance of unification. The Count also displays an ability to unite opposing factions, illustrated through the group formation of Harker, Van Helsing, Seward and Morris. This further reflects the Count as modelled on Gladstone and further points to an 'Irish' point of view. Joseph Valente further refers to an Irish context in the novel, noting that:

> the Irishness of *Dracula* should be read and understood in light of what I call its *metrocolonial conditions of production*, which function on both the collective level, shaping the cultural and political identity of the Irish people, and at the individual level, giving a peculiar slant to the psychic terrain of Stoker himself.[15]

If the novel was produced in such a way that reflects Stoker's own psychic terrain and his propensity to exist in an in-between state between England and Ireland, then it is natural that Stoker's characterisation within *Dracula* would also exist in such a state. Consequently the novel's terrain is one of uncertainty, whereby the Count presents a liminal position, existing between a model of Victorian Englishness and primitive Otherness. Through mimicry, the Count becomes both English and Other, leaving his identity an ambiguous one which ultimately presents a threat to the Englishmen of the novel because he cannot be assimilated by them despite their preoccupation with gaining data and facts correctly. Harker, for example, is reliant on facts that can be proved and verified. He pleads 'Let me begin with facts – bare, meagre facts, verified by books and figures, and of which there can be no doubt' (30). Harker's world does not create room enough for someone who represents in-betweenness and who

transcends the limitations of scientific fact. Harker holds the old colonial conception of power manifested through verified facts where the unknown remains unknown until it can be placed upon a map or indeed, quantified in any way. The Count increasingly becomes a threat to the world of data collection and collation because he is neither one thing nor the other, as Thomas Richards reiterates:

> The functioning British monopoly over knowledge ends in Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897), where a colonial alterity comes to be closely aligned with forms refusing to follow the ordinal scheme of historical morphological development.[16]

This is first illustrated in the very beginning of the novel when solicitor Jonathan Harker travels to Transylvania to do business with the Count. He notes that 'The impression I had was that we were leaving the West and entering the East; the most Western of splendid bridges over the Danube, which is here of noble width and depth, took us among the traditions of the Turkish rule' (1). Harker's initial feeling of the new landscape is similar to what Said would later term the Orient as Harker immediately positions the East as inferior to the West. His engagement with this Orient displays a colonial superiority over the East whilst paradoxically illustrating the closeness between the East and West, suggesting the blurring of the boundaries that separate the two. Harker's narrative draws the West and the East closer together, implying that the East is not as far from the West as the colonial narratives of the Orientalists suggested, and illustrates the difficulties and ambivalences with boundaries that plagued Stoker's literary consciousness through his sense of Anglo-Irishness. Immediately Stoker attempts to blur the boundaries between the West and

the East, and further in Harker's narrative, Stoker allegorises the liminality of the Count by positioning his castle 'in the extreme east of the country, just on the borders of three states, Transylvania, Moldavia, and Bukovina, in the midst of the Carpathian mountains' (1). Such positioning reflects the difficulty of the Englishman to gain any form of cognitive representation of both the Count and the country that he inhabits. As Harker further suggests 'I was not able to light on any map or work giving the exact locality of the Castle Dracula, as there were no maps of this country as yet to compare with our own Ordinance Survey maps' (1). At best, Harker can only shed light upon Transylvania using 'the British Museum, and [making] search among the books and maps of the library regarding Transylvania' (1). Despite such searches, Harker's first opinion of the landscape further reflects later conceptions of the Orient. This suggests that not only is the Count (and his country) liminal, but also primitive, positioning Harker's England superior to the landscape of the East, which is described as 'one of the wildest and least known portions of Europe' (1). Moreover, it is stated that 'the further East you go the more unpunctual are the trains' (2). Thus, Harker further illustrates the sense of an implied English superiority over Transylvania simply because it is located in the East, a place of great British Imperial supremacy for many centuries. Stephen Arata exemplifies this by suggesting that 'In assuming the Victorian traveller in the East, Harker also assumes the Orientalist perspective that allows him to "make sense" of his experiences there...As Harker moves further eastward [however] he leaves western rationality behind' (630). I would argue that this brings the representation of Transylvania close to a reading of Ireland which was also constructed as Other by the British, as previously illustrated by Martineau, who notes that 'Irishmen are particularly lazy'[17] and furthermore that 'there are other sights, - groups of ruins, as at Athenry – staring fragments of old castles, and

churches, and monasteries; and worse than these, a very large number of unroofed cottages' (71).

Like Transylvania, the Land of the Blue Mountains in *The Lady of the Shroud* also displays Stoker's attempt to move beyond the colonial in favour of Irish liberal politics, as the construction of its primitiveness plays upon the British colonial conception of Ireland. David Glover writes that there is a 'curious geographical doubling that passes between *Dracula* and *The Snake's Pass* which hinges upon equivocations in the representability of Ireland and the Irish.'[18] This doubling of representation of Ireland can also be extended to *The Lady of the Shroud* as the Blue Mountains inevitably reflect British colonial conceptions of the Irish in the same way that Transylvania does, figuring Ireland as the Orient. Arata further reflects that:

> As a transplanted Irishman, one whose national allegiances were conspicuously split, Stoker was particularly sensitive to the issues raised by British imperial conquest and domination. Britain's subjugation of Ireland was marked by a brutality often exceeding what occurred in the colonies (628).

Ireland's positioning as Orient and savage is reiterated through the quasi-colonial conception of Transylvania. However, it is possible to move beyond Arata's claim that Stoker's sense of a split Anglo-Irish identity is reflected through the novel, as I would argue that Stoker's sensitivity to Britain's conquest of Ireland becomes altered to encompass the idea that unification of the opposing countries could actually serve Ireland better along economic lines. Hence by the end of the novel, the danger of colonisation comes from outside Britain. In this sense, Transylvania becomes far

more than a representation of a colonial version of Ireland; it appears as a figure for British weakness.

Descriptions of Transylvania serve to demonstrate Stoker's initial colonial structure through the eyes of Harker. At the same time, however, Stoker also creates a disjunction between implied imperial power and real imperial power. It is telling that in the novel, the country of Transylvania is represented as a primitive place with very little information printed on the country available in the British Museum. This suggests that English imperial power has not touched the country because no such imperial archive initially exists upon the subject. Stoker illustrates that the imperial power of the English is no longer able to exert a sense of superiority upon Transylvania despite the sense of primitiveness that Harker initially suggests. This is further reiterated by Stephen Arata who argues that 'By problematizing...boundaries, Stoker probes the heart of the culture's sense of itself, its ways of defining and distinguishing itself from other peoples, other cultures, in its hour of perceived decline' (623). I would argue that through the lack of material on Transylvania in the British Museum, Stoker reflects the perceived decline of the British who have failed to amass any writing upon the country, further positioning it as colonially unfamiliar. This sense of primitive unfamiliarity is also displayed when Harker meets the Count, who inhabits a 'ruined castle, from whose tall black windows came no ray of light, and whose broken battlements showed a jagged line against the moonlit sky' (14). The sense of primitiveness is further compounded by the fact that the Count seems to have no servants, 'As he was speaking he put the lamp on a bracket on the wall, and stepping out, took my luggage; he had carried it in before I could forestall him' (16). Such representations of primitiveness further reflect a sense of implied class superiority of the Englishman over the Transylvanian - and of a sense of English

superiority as a whole over the East. However, once more, Stoker invites the reader to view the more intricate complexities of the situation of Harker's arrival and the colonial implications of it. The Englishman is figured as being superior to the Count, but the Count (in his primitive state) reflects the weakening imperial projection of the English. It is interesting to note that Stoker only illustrates a weakened version of the East, which has the Count lamenting upon past glories:

> Is it a wonder that we were a conquering race; that we were proud; that when the Magyar, the Lombard, the Avar, the Bulgar, or the Turk poured his thousands on our frontiers, we drove them back? Is it strange that when Arpad and his legions swept through the Hungarian fatherland he found us here when he reached the frontier; that the Honfoglalas was completed there?...who was it but one of my own race who as Voivode crossed the Danube and beat the Turk on his own ground! This was a Dracula indeed (29).

This narrative of Dracula as a strong and successful warlord in the past ultimately reflects further the projection of what could happen to the British Empire so weakened by degeneration. Stoker charts the fall of a powerful Empire (Dracula's) into a weak and primitive state; the strong and conquering race of Dracula's have degenerated into the representation of the Count who can only attempt to conquer through his own perverse means. This also reflects the perceived condition of cultural degeneration in the British Empire, which is symptomatic of cultural and imperial weakness.

The projection of a weak British Empire is also referenced through the narrative of *The Lady of the Shroud* whereby Rupert attempts to reconstruct a sense of British

power in the Blue Mountains that is not possible in Britain due to its perceived weakening state. It is suggested that:

> as Rupert is going to settle there, it will be good to have round him a little colony of his own people...And mayhap our little settlement of MacKelpie clan away beyond the frontiers of the Empire may be some service to the nation and the King (64).

Stoker demonstrates Rupert's attempt to create a new power structure that he is incapable of establishing in Britain, where he is an outcast to his wider family who seemingly belong to an older world of English aristocracy and feudalism. In doing so, Stoker displays the problematic elements of power inherent within the British Empire, as it is only when Rupert relocates to the Blue Mountains that he can establish a new form of power and become fully accepted by establishing unity with the natives. This is illustrated when Rupert suggests that 'the trust of a nation is different. Such has to be won and tested; he who would win it must justify, and in a way that only troublous times can allow' (98). Harker's projection of a British imperial power in *Dracula*, however, is based upon and negated by the condition of the Count who is later revealed to be centuries old. In this guise, then, it is little wonder that Harker views himself (as an Englishman) superior to the aged Count in his primitive guise, and thus describes his physiognomy in a way that unconsciously reflects such perceived superiority:

> His face was a strong – a very strong – aquiline, with high bridge of the thin nose and peculiarly arched nostrils; with lofty domed forehead, and hair

> growing scantily round the temples, but profusely elsewhere. His eyebrows were very massive, almost meeting over the nose, and with bushy hair that seemed to curl in its own profusion. The mouth, so far as I could see it under the heavy moustache, was fixed and rather cruel-looking, with particularly sharp white teeth; these protruded over the lips, whose remarkable ruddiness showed astonishing vitality in a man of his years (17).

This description of the Count reflects such works upon the science of physiognomy, most notably from Lombroso's *Criminal Man*, revealing criminality through perversions occurring in appearance. Such a description not only positions the Count as primitive, but also doubly inscribes him as degenerate through his own physical abnormalities, as degenerates were expected to be marked out as appearing different from the civilised man. Indeed, this is certainly the case with the Count, who exhibits all of the physical characteristics that Lombroso describes, allowing Harker to position himself as both physically and culturally superior to the Count. Nevertheless, Stoker again serves to undermine Harker's implied superiority over the Count by revealing that the Count views something unusual in Harker's appearance, stating that he finds 'some expression in [Harker's] face strange to him' (18). Harker furthers this expression of difference by suggesting that 'I think strange things which I dare not confess to my own soul' (18). In this case, it is not only the Count whose appearance is abnormal and degenerate to Harker, but also Harker is seen as potentially abnormal and as susceptible to degeneracy as the Count. This suggests that Harker and the Count are presented as mirror images of each other because both are constructed with a sense of duality of presence. This is reiterated by William Patrick Day who refers to Dracula as 'an empowering vision of the self as Other, as Outsider.'[19] The Count is

both centric in terms of his mimicry and eccentric because he represents the degenerate, whereas Harker is centric in terms of being a member of London's bourgeoisie but also eccentric as he feels things which cannot be spoken of in polite company. It is my contention that Stoker reflects the weakness of the British Empire and undermines the projection of colonial strength upon the East through the duality that exists between the two characters; Harker has the propensity to become degenerate while Dracula has the propensity of becoming civilised through mimicry, and whilst Dracula mimics the London bourgeois on his arrival in London, it is also the case that Harker mimics the Count (to a certain extent) upon his arrival in Transylvania by becoming as degenerate as the Count, which ultimately drives him temporarily insane.

Through this doubling, Stoker shows that Harker and the Count represent different sides of the same coin and are together a mirror image of what Britain could become if left to degenerate. This further explains the lack of mirrors within the castle, much to Harker's disdain:

> But still in none of the rooms is there a mirror. There is not even a toilet glass on my table, and I had to get the little shaving-glass from my bag before I could either shave or brush my hair (19).

This lack of mirrors serves to highlight the duality between the Count and Harker, as the Count in effect is Harker's mirror image, albeit in degenerate state. This is further reiterated by the fact that when Harker does get a shaving-glass, the Count does not appear as a reflection, suggesting that he and Harker are the same. Immediately after this episode Harker declares that 'This was startling, and, coming on the top of so

many strange things, was beginning to increase that vague feeling of uneasiness which I always have when the Count is near' (25-6). Incidentally, Harker admits that he only feels strange and uneasy when the Count is in close proximity to him, furthering the notion that Dracula represents his own degenerate side, or at least a side of him that is susceptible to degeneracy. In doing so, Stoker reiterates the work of aforementioned contemporary social critics, most particularly William Booth who suggested the existence of a 'darkest England'[20] a narrative that illustrated the proximity of the degenerate towards the civilised. So, too, Stoker debates the proximity of the degenerate to the civilised and reflects the capacity of the civilised to become a degenerate. In Harker's case this proximity is far closer than previously illustrated. Harker's proximity to his own sense of degeneration becomes symptomatic of a Britain becoming weak. Stoker positions this weakness responsible for the perceived decline of colonial superiority close to the Englishman himself so illustrating that they are responsible for their own decline precisely because the primitive comes from within Britain itself. This further reiterates that the Count is no more primitive than Harker himself because both hold a certain proximity to cultural decline. In the Count's case, he is the visual embodiment of what Harker (and Britain) could become. In the context of this doubling, Stoker suggests that the state of the Empire is ultimately in the hands of the British people.

Throughout the novel, Stoker serves to illustrate the primitiveness of the Count by placing him in direct opposition to the modernity of contemporary Victorian London. David Glover suggests that '*Dracula* is a novel that is very much concerned with modernity's strength and weaknesses' (60) as demonstrated through Stoker's preoccupation with placing modern instruments of the day such as typewriters, stenographs and recorders into the novel, alongside popular theories of Nordau and

Lombroso. When describing Dracula, Jonathan Harker's wife, Mina, suggests that 'The Count is a criminal and of criminal type. Nordau and Lombroso would so classify him' (342). In further positioning the Count within a degenerate typology, Stoker draws attention to the debates concerning the construction of degeneracy and the civilised at the time of writing. Stoker places the bourgeois characters into a construction of modern civilisation which embraces progressive theories and ideas such as technological advancement, medical science and the introduction of the New Woman. This preoccupation with progress and advancement is reflected by the character of Van Helsing who is brought to London in order to first classify the vampire and then hunt and destroy him. Van Helsing is described in the novel as a 'philosopher and a metaphysician and one of the most advanced scientists of his day' (112). The importance here is that he is the most advanced scientist, further drawing upon Stoker's preoccupation with modernity based upon technological and scientific advancement. Van Helsing, then, is the very antithesis of the Count, who lives in an ancient castle and who tends to hoard his wealth. During his stay in Dracula's castle, Harker comes across a room which has:

> a great heap of gold in one corner – gold of all kinds, Roman, and British, and Austrian, and Hungarian, and Greek and Turkish money, covered with a film of dust, as though it had lain long in the ground. None of it that I noticed was less than three hundred years old (47).

However, the Count is unable to use money in the modern way: the only transaction that he does understand is through blood, his currency, suggesting he is unable to function within a modern world because he cannot understand modern ways. Indeed,

the Count represents the undercurrent of degeneration in modern day Victorian England (which harks back to the primitive) and as such the Count represents the antithesis of modernity; primitiveness and disease. What emerges through Stoker's construction of the primitive against the modern is that the Count cannot cope within the world of modernity that characterises the Victorian era because he represents decline and disease in a time of technological development. The Count even suggests this himself when considering what house Harker should find for him in London, stating that "'I am glad that it is old and big. I myself am of an old family and to live in a new house would kill me"' (23). This further represents Stoker's construction of the old against the new because the old world is attempting to function out of its time. This theme of the threat posed upon modernity by the Old-Worldly degenerate will also be shown within the later novels *The Lair of the White Worm* and *The Jewel of Seven Stars*.

Despite the Count's anachronism, he is able to gain possession of the modern world through holding Harker prisoner in his castle. In doing so, Dracula is indeed physically posing a threat to the modern by capturing a 'modern man', who has, to a certain extent, become the Count's subject because he is held captive within the castle. In this position, Harker cannot access any of the technological utilities necessary for his survival or well-being. Harker also becomes susceptible to his own innermost degenerate urges and unspoken desires, suggesting that the degenerate is closer to home, and moreover, is responsible for the perception of weakness within the English race and British Empire. Through the Count's possession of Harker, the boundaries between modern civilization and old degeneracy are further blurred, illustrating Stoker's ambivalence to modernity and further suggesting that *Dracula* does not *celebrate* modernity but actually serves to critique it. This possession of

Harker reflects the weakness inherent in Victorian society, as he is weak enough to be possessed by the Count. In this way, the novel critiques the loss of manhood through personal weakness, as Harker suggests further in the novel that he feels 'impotent' (188) when reflecting on his experiences. Stoker also plays upon feelings of strength illustrated through notions of masculinity and ultimately sexual health as Harker has to become more masculine in order to defeat the Count. Van Helsing suggests to Mina that "'I will gladly do *all* for him that I can – all to make his life strong and manly"' (185).

Technology, Monstrosity and Empire.

The critique of modernity is inherent throughout the novel as, despite using state of the art equipment to accurately record facts and data, all that is achieved is a mass of meaningless paper by the novel's end. This sense of anti-climax with journal writing suggests Stoker's own undermining of modernity along with problematic colonial archiving, again reflecting the weakened state of the British Empire. Good colonists keep good archives, whereas the British archive on Transylvania will remain non-existent because the collection (or mass) of paper on the subject becomes meaningless: the meaning becomes lost to modernity and as such the novel is as much about *the use* of modern technology as about the *inscription of meaning* by such technology. The reader is unwittingly drawn back to the Count yet again, suggesting that the bourgeois need to use such technologies outweighs its purpose, Dracula hoards his money; he has the wealth but does not actually know what to use it for, merely leaving a mass of unused gold, like the mass of paper left by the typewriter. Judith Halberstam suggests that:

> The narrative episodes are tape-recorded, transcribed, addended, edited and compiled by four characters – Jonathan Harker, Dr Seward, Mina Harker and Lucy Westenra. The control of the narrative by these characters suggests that the textual body...must be protected from any corrupting or foreign influence.[21]

However, Stoker writes that 'the old centuries had, and have powers of their own which mere "modernity" cannot kill' (36). These negative connotations given to the act of typewriting itself, and to modernity in general, further illustrate the notion that it is not merely the influence of the degenerate and Oriental Count which corrupts the narrative of *Dracula*, but the weakness and degeneration that is occurring in and by modernity itself (reiterated through the duality that occurs between Harker and the Count), and the problematising of the use of new technologies. In contrast to this, Stoker illustrates what the British Empire could become in *The Lady of the Shroud* by exemplifying the benefits of technology in safe-guarding against invasion. In *Dracula*, technology is merely used to transcribe invasion, whereas in the later novel, technology is actually used for the benefit of quashing the invasion of the Turks:

> Here we found all humming like a hive of bees. The yacht, which Captain Rooke had kept fired ever since the pursuing party under the Gospodar had left Vissarion, was already away, and tearing up the coast at a fearful rate. The rifles and ammunition were stacked on the quay. The field-guns, too, were equipped, and the cases of ammunition ready to ship...At one end of the quay, ready to lift on board, stood also the Gospodar's aeroplane, fully

equipped, and ready, if need were, for immediate flight (164).

What the reader is presented with in this novel is the reconciliation of British-based power in a setting that is not British. However, whereas in *Dracula*, Stoker demonstrates that Harker cannot use technological advances for power because he is ultimately weak and unmanly, in *The Lady of the Shroud*, Rupert uses it as a reflection of his power which is essentially British merged with Celtic and which is used in order to instil peace and freedom within the region. Rupert, then, becomes the opposite of Harker, or at the very least, what Harker seeks to become, as he is described as being:

> a man to whom no adventure is too wild or too daring. His reckless bravery is a byword amongst many savage peoples and amongst many others not savages, whose fears are not of material things, but of the world of mysteries in and beyond the grave. He dares not only wild animals and savage men; but has tackled African magic and Indian mysticism (38).

Rupert represents the 'man of action' ideal that Harker has to learn to embody by the novel's end in order to defeat the Count. For Stoker, the character of Rupert illustrates what the British can become through the successful use of modern technology which enables him to be more manly and thus allows him to successfully contribute to the strengthening of a newly unified British Empire. However, through the representation of the Count as a return of what has been repressed; a feeling that the old world is able to show up the shortcomings of the new world by symbolising the fears which were perceived to be actively contributing to the downfall of the empire, Stoker is also able

to represent and actively critique what is responsible for the cultural weakness inherent within the British Empire. Through the narrative of *The Lady of the Shroud*, Stoker displays the reconciling of British power through unity and a sense of cultural freedom, constructing Vissarion as a model for Irish Home Rule based upon the unification of England and Ireland in which Ireland keeps its own cultural autonomy but is made economically stronger through becoming part of Britain. Smith argues that Stoker wrote into his novels 'The support for a unified Britain in which Ireland acquires some form of cultural autonomy and economic advancement' (23). However, this was highly dependent upon Britain's continuation as a global power, which explains Stoker's preoccupation with representing (and offering a solution to) the fears of social and cultural decline, as a weak Britain would be no use for the economic development of Ireland. This preoccupation culminates in the illustration of British hybrid power through the construction of unity inherent in *The Lady of the Shroud.*

Stoker's construction of Harker's stay/captivity at Dracula's castle serves to illustrate this sense of a return of the repressed that furthers the narrative of Harker's own decline. The castle itself is 'so strange and uncanny' (14) to Harker because it is a seemingly inhospitable place. The Oriental connotations are doubly infused through the narrative of the Count, his castle and the landscape of Transylvania as it is figured as unfamiliar and thus essentially Irish. Due to such connotations, the conception of the castle is figured as *unhiemlich* or unhomely and is suggestive of Said's later *Orientalism*, as well as Freud's later construction of the uncanny, in which he argues that the boundaries between the familiarity of the home and a feeling of the unknown are merged to produce a feeling of uneasiness or the uncanny. In this sense, the uncanny can be used to illustrate the position of liminality or in-betweeness in which

Harker finds himself during his travels in Transylvania and more importantly, within the confines of the castle itself. The castle represents more than the mere emergence of Harker into a world of Oriental degeneracy represented by the Count; it represents the travelling towards that which civilised society has repressed within his own self, his own state of psychological degeneration. As already noted, the exterior and interior of the castle is either described as old or decayed as though Harker has transcended time and space and is now in the company of a seemingly old-fashioned feudal Count. In doing so, Harker seems to have also transcended his own sense of the homely constructed by Victorian society as something akin to what Mina represents for him, and, as such, the exterior of the castle represents Harker's own degenerating mind. This is illustrated by Harker's first impressions of the outside of the castle:

> I must have been asleep, for certainly if I had been fully awake I must have noticed the approach to such a remarkable place...Of bell or knocker there was no sign; through these frowning walls and dark openings it was not likely that my voice could penetrate. The time I waited seemed endless, and I felt doubts and fears crowding upon me...I began to rub my eyes and pinch myself to see if I were awake. It all seemed like a horrible nightmare to me (14-15).

By merging the construction of the castle with Harker's difficulty in separating reality from dream, Stoker represents the castle as an externalised form of Harker's fear of the unknown. The 'frowning' walls here resurrect the imagery of a seemingly colonised Ireland in *The Snake's Pass*. However, this time, it is the weaker Englishman who is to be colonised by the Count.

During the early part of the novel, Harker's wife is constructed through the lens of a nineteenth century version of womanhood; she is fully domesticated and thus suggested as making a good Victorian wife (a concept of female submissiveness which Mina transcends by the novel's close). Harker states early in the narrative that 'I had for dinner, or rather supper, a chicken done up some way with red pepper, which was very good but thirsty. (*Mem.*, get recipe for Mina.)' (1) and further on in Mina's own journal entry she writes:

> That fearful Count was coming to London, with its teeming millions...There may be a solemn duty; and if it come we must not shrink from it...I shall be prepared. I shall get my typewriter this very hour and begin transcribing. Then we shall be ready for other eyes if required (179).

The narrative construction of Mina as the dutiful wife represents to Harker the construction of the home, further illustrated through her 'proper' sexuality and the importance played by the female in the realm of Victorian domesticity, which defined the appropriate state of womanhood as subservient to the male. In this sense, the construction of Mina in *Dracula* reflects the early construction of Margaret in *The Jewel of Seven Stars*, who, it will be argued, represents a projection of the homely for Malcolm Ross. However, when Harker is removed from the company of Mina and from his homeland of London to the unfamiliarity of Transylvania and the castle, he is dislocated from all of the social values held by Mina's representation of the homely and placed into a representation of the 'unhomely', or the uncanny. In order to attempt to further transcend this position of liminality, Harker turns again to his diary. He states 'The habit of entering accurately must help to soothe me' (36), as though

writing allows him to feel more at ease within the castle and with himself, once again restoring him to sanity. This further reflects the later Freudian linking between writing and mental health, which are described as slips of the pen in *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life* (1901). Thus, the practice of writing seemingly restores Harker to a sense of his Victorian bourgeois self, alleviating the feelings of uneasiness and degeneracy that the castle stirs within him. Through his writing, however, Harker is not merely restored to a full sense of self per se, but to a *feminised version* of his self. When he writes it is not in the unhomely castle, but in an alcove that he locates 'where I could look towards the South' (33). Despite the allusions to the South providing a sense of home, Stoker positions Harker into a feminine narrative as he writes:

> Here I am, sitting at a little oak table where in the old times possibly some fair lady sat to pen, with much thought and many blushes, her ill-spelt love-letter, and writing in my diary in shorthand all that has happened since I closed it last (36).

Harker's writing helps to soothe him precisely because it allows him to embody the sense of womanhood that makes him feel homely and closer to Mina, and in doing so, Harker, paradoxically, is able to temporarily transcend his own feelings of degeneration that the Count and his castle stir within him. Through his identification with a female rhetoric and through his writing in general, Harker is made to feel not old worldly and degenerate, but rather 'nineteenth century up-to-date with a vengeance.'(36), precisely because his writing removes him from the unhomely and places him into a sense of the homely (at least temporally) and as such, Harker's

writing overcomes his feelings of degeneration in both the physical sense and the psychological (as he is able to present himself as something which is homely albeit a reflection of womanhood represented by Mina). Through writing, Harker is able to re-assert his own health as it is only when he and Mina stop writing that they are susceptible to Dracula. Not writing suggests that the mind and the body are unoccupied, reflecting the degenerate state that Dracula forces them to occupy later in the novel. Despite such allusions to the home, made through Harker's writing, Stoker also reflects Harker's own proximity to the Count's 'disease'. Through the figuring of himself as a woman, Harker reflects the ambivalence inherent within the proximity of cultural degeneration to the civilised, and furthermore, reflects the threat of homosexuality to the weakening of Empire. In doing so, Stoker once again displays the closeness of the homely with the unhomely, which is further reflected at the end of the novel through the birth of Mina and Jonathan's child. The end of the novel also holds further resonances when considering the importance of writing. Through writing, health is established; however, throughout the novel such writing is required to be accurate. By the novel's end, the mass of paper left behind suggests that writing has been done, but not accurately enough, as '...there is hardly one authentic document!' (378). What the reader is left with is the indeterminacy of the degenerate, as if inaccurate writing illustrates once more the proximity of the degenerate to the civilised.

Sexuality, Territory and the Nightmare of Invasion.

Notions of health, degeneracy and the state of the empire are intrinsically linked within the narrative of *Dracula*. Through these, Stoker is able to construct the novel

around the cultural fears during the *fin de siécle*, making the novel more contemporary to the readers of the day. However, within Stoker's novels, these fears are constructed alongside a preoccupation with territory and the possession of it. As already suggested, Stoker demonstrates the liminality of the Count through his possession of a castle located on three borders. Dracula is thus displayed as a degenerate as he is able to transgress boundaries. This is further illustrated in the novel through his ability to combine the old world with the new, and as such, he represents the return of the past to wreak havoc upon the present. However, on a deeper level, this also reflects the problem of the weakening of the British Empire as Dracula also represents a return of the repressed which in this case is the proximity of the degenerate to the civilised bourgeois society represented by Harker. The Count possesses not only a liminally situated castle but also a liminally positioned Harker. Smith suggests that 'Jonathan Harker's journal reveals him to be subject to problems of sexuality and textuality which take on the form of a return to the repressed.'[22] The narrative of Dracula's possession of Harker is doubly inscribed, for it appears that as his possession continues in the castle, Harker actually *wants* to be possessed by the Count. He is free to feel the repressed degenerate state that is in close proximity to London, further reflecting his own problems of textuality and sexuality based upon degeneration and ultimately his positioning within a narrative that serves to feminise him. For him, 'the past is at the same time threatening and attractive, both a part of and a danger to one's personal and national identity.'[23]

Indeed, the past as an extension of the repressed certainly proves attractive for Harker precisely because it reflects his proximity to degeneration. Simmons further argues that 'by sleeping in an old part of the castle against his host's advice, Harker makes himself vulnerable to powers that have survived from past ages' (30). By going

against the Count's wishes, Harker illustrates his own degenerative state, as through sleeping in an old part of the castle, he is able to be in closer proximity and more vulnerable to the dangers that exist there. Harker, then, *wants* to be vulnerable to the Count's version of the past rooted in a perverse version of femininity and attempts to make the unknown version of the past that Dracula represents, more familiar to him. It is my contention that Harker wants to be invaded by the Count, suggesting that the feminisation that occurs to him within the castle doubly fuses Harker with a model of Victorian womanhood that the Count can possess, and ultimately with sexual transgression as Harker places himself within the role of the female prisoner of the Count. This sets up the later sexual transgression that Harker will experience in the presence of the female vampires. Indeed, during his captivity, Harker is not only implied to be losing Victorian inhibitions, but also his mind, suggesting the model of degeneracy that the Count represents is linked with criminality and insanity. This is displayed through Mina's suggestion that the Count is 'of imperfectly formed mind' (342). Harker further demonstrates his loss of sanity by suggesting 'I am beginning to feel this nocturnal existence tell on me. It is destroying my nerve. I start at my own shadow, and am full of all sorts of horrible imaginings' (33). Despite these imaginings, Stoker reveals that Harker's interest is piqued, and again he goes against the Count's wishes by further exploring the locked doors of the castle where he arguably finds what he is looking for: three sexually transgressive vampire women who are also under the possession of the Count.

This episode in which Harker locates the female vampires further evokes his doubling with the Count as it reflects his own degenerate wishes. When Dracula suggests that Harker is able to '"go anywhere you wish in the castle, except where the doors are locked, where of course you will not wish to go' (21) he is in fact taking

Harker for a civilised bourgeois solicitor; however, the locked doors are exactly where Harker *does* want to go due to his repressed degenerate impulses. This is further reflected in his description of the female vampires. At first, the description places the vampires into a rhetoric of Victorian womanhood: 'In the moonlight opposite me were three young women, ladies by their dress and manner' (37). Indeed, this initial construction of the vampires suggests that they are so tempting to Harker because they were once Victorian ladies based upon their appearance, but yet exhibit old world degeneracy. His account continues thus:

> They came close to me and looked at me for some time and then whispered together. Two were dark, and had high aquiline noses, like the Count's, and great dark, piercing eyes, that seemed to be almost red when contrasted with the pale yellow moon (37).

This description of the females undermines the initial context of Victorian womanhood, serving to mark them as criminal types to which Harker had also referred when describing the Count earlier in the narrative. The shift in opinion from Victorian 'ladies' to degenerate vampires again serves to demonstrate the proximity of degeneracy in what seems to be the civilised as the vampires were 'ladies' made degenerate by the Count. Harker describes them as being lady-like initially, and later in the novel the Count also preys upon Lucy Westenra and Mina, mirroring the fate of the female vampires. Thus, the narrative allegorises not only the battle between the old world and the new, but the battle between appropriate and inappropriate female behaviour – the battle between the repressed and the repressor. What emerges in the female vampire episode is a battle of wills for the possession of Harker and for the

possession of the Victorian. When Harker is possessed by the vampires, albeit briefly, he is able to see something different within them, serving to position him further into a rhetoric of Victorian degeneration. He describes one of the vampires as being:

> fair, as fair as can be, with great, wavy masses of golden hair and eyes like pale sapphires. I seemed somehow to know her face, and know it in connection with some dreamy fear, but I could not recollect at the moment how or where (37).

Immediately Harker is removed from a narrative of unfamiliarity into a narrative of quasi-familiarity with one of the female vampires. This familiarity comes through the representation of Lucy Westenra, a close friend of Mina's who does not hold the same domestic principles as her friend. Lucy wonders why, instead of finding one man to marry and settling down into a Victorian role of servitude and domesticity, 'can't they let a girl marry three men, or as many as want her' (59). This inevitably places her into a sexualised role within the novel and precedes her becoming a vampire later in the narrative. However, if one considers her own description within the novel, it is evident that Harker's familiarity with one of the female vampires is because she reminds him of Lucy. He expresses a desire for the vampires to 'kiss [him] with those red lips' (37), but the import of such a suggestion is also not lost on him as he immediately reflects that 'It is not good to note this down, lest some day it should meet Mina's eyes and cause her pain; but it is the truth' (37). This episode would be likely to cause Mina pain because it is illustrative of Harker's admission of a degenerate form of sexual activity with a creature who reminds him of the sexually promiscuous Lucy who, when vampirised represents this kind of sexual perversity as she becomes 'insatiable, her vampire state [is] a kind of nymphomania.'[24] The episode

continues with Harker's projection of a highly charged scene, whereby the female vampires gain sexual possession of him. Harker writes that:

> There was a deliberate voluptuousness which was both thrilling and repulsive, and as she arched her neck she actually licked her lips like an animal, til I could see in the moonlight the moisture shining on the scarlet lips and on the red tongue as it lapped at the white sharp teeth. Lower and lower went her head as the lips went below the range of my mouth and chin and it seemed to fasten on my throat (38).

This metaphorical representation of oral sex is suggestive of the sexual possession of Harker by the female vampires, but also describes his own submission to them via his projection of Lucy upon the vampire. In doing so, Harker bares his own perverse desires regarding the promiscuous Lucy and furthers the perception of his own degenerate self as it is not merely the figure of Lucy that Harker desires but the vampirised representation of her. This suggests that he finds familiarity in the very thing that should repulse him. Again, Stoker sets up a battle of wills between the Victorian and the degenerate worlds, blurring the boundaries between them until they become difficult to separate.

This kind of blurring between the representation of the primitive old world existing in the seemingly civilised new world is also illustrated within Stoker's novel *The Lady of the Shroud* which also uses a vampire narrative in order to blend the two worlds. In this novel, Rupert Sent Ledger falls in love with a woman in Vissarion who visits him during the night dressed only in a shroud, leading Rupert to believe that she is a vampire. He states that:

> There, outside on the balcony, in the now brilliant moonlight, stood a woman, wrapped in white grave-clothes saturated with water, which dripped on the marble floor...Attitude and dress and circumstance all conveyed the idea that, though she moved and spoke she was not quick, but dead (69).

What is interesting about this first meeting, however, is not the fact that Rupert is positioned into a narrative of the supernatural, but that he seems to fall in love with the apparition-like lady immediately, despite the fact that she may be dead. He states further that 'She was young and very beautiful, but pale, like the grey pallor of death' (69). In this meeting, the lady, revealed as Teuta, does not reflect the erotic symbol inherent within Stoker's constructions of vampires (as in *Dracula*) and ultimately she does not instil a feeling of lust within Rupert, who is predisposed to fall in love with her and ultimately marry her by the novel's close. The love narrative serves to unify Rupert with the representation of a past of Vissarion figured through Teuta. Rupert reflects the power of a past seemingly resurrected in the present within his narrative, suggesting that:

> The effect of this brooding was that I was, despite my own will, struck by the similarity of circumstances bearing upon my visitor, and the conditions apportioned by tradition and superstition to such strange survivals from earlier ages as these partial existences which are rather Undead than Living – still walking the earth, though claimed by the world of the Dead (77).

Nevertheless, this representation of the past into which Rupert is drawn by the novel's end is not one which reflects the supernatural or the Gothic connotations that Stoker displays through the representation of Teuta as a vampire. Indeed, later in the novel, Teuta is revealed to be the daughter of the King of Vissarion, fearful for her life and thus dressed as a vampire in order to escape kidnap by the Turks. Throughout Teuta's Gothic narrative, Rupert is figured as the outsider in Vissarion as only those close to Teuta know of her disguise. However, in her guise of an Old Worldly vampire, Teuta inspires unity within Rupert whose narrative is preoccupied with finding a way to overcome the barriers between the old world that Teuta represents in her vampire guise and the new world that Rupert inhabits. This positions Stoker's vampire narrative at complete odds with that represented in *Dracula* as Teuta not only prefigures the love narrative, but also one of cultural unification, inherent when Rupert marries her. When considering vampirism, Rupert reflects that they are characterised as being 'a soul and body which are not in unity' (77). He attempts to overcome this, however, through his love for Teuta; 'Never before have I been stirred to my depths by anyone. Come it from Heaven or Hell, from the Earth or the Grave, it does not matter; I shall make it my task to win her back to life and peace' (78). Through the projection of a vampire narrative onto Teuta, then, Rupert is predisposed to seek unity for Teuta, but in doing so, this leads him from the narrative of the supernatural to a narrative of the imperial as he attempts to overcome the Turkish forces sent in to capture Teuta and gain control over Vissarion. In such ways, Stoker shows that the real threat of the novel is not from the vampire-like projection of Teuta, but from what her construction of the vampiric hides; the invasion of another country through aggressive colonial politics. Stoker reiterates this by removing the irrational narrative of vampirism in order to make way for the real threat of the Turks.

The old world narrative of primitivity and the unknown makes way for the construction of a new world narrative represented through the unifying of Vissarion in order to battle the colonial invaders, thus prefiguring the beginnings of German aggressive expansionism in the East. In many ways this narrative of unification reflects and allegorises Stoker's political stance on the Irish Question, suggesting that the unity inherent within the novel refers to Stoker's own stance of unity between Ireland and England. Joseph Valente argues that 'Stoker did prefer to view [the] new racial order in the United Kingdom as strengthening rather than threatening the Empire beyond its shores. He most clearly embodies this belief in the hero of his late novel' (77). Stoker positions Rupert Sent Ledger into the role of cultural idealist as he represents Stoker's views concerning Home Rule albeit in a different nation through his doubling with William Gladstone, as described earlier.

Whilst Stoker reconciles the old and the new through a sense of unity (overcoming the old and embracing the new) in *The Lady of the Shroud*, the narrative of *Dracula* is far more pessimistic as far as reconciliation of these two elements goes. Through the episode of the female vampires, no resolution is forthcoming. The Count merely reiterates his own seemingly homoerotic, and thus degenerate, possession of Harker, suggesting that the past holds power over the present. When the Count finds Harker with the females, he states that 'This man belongs to me!' (39) illustrating the perceived weakness inherent in Victorian society. The Count becomes angry, however, precisely because the female vampires can provide Harker with what he desires; a transgressive sexual act that gives him an imagined sexual possession over Lucy, and in doing so, disrupts the body politic of repressed sexuality in the Victorian era. I would argue that through their sexualised narrative, Harker is able to recall repressed sexual feelings for Lucy, and as such, reject the conventional model of

Victorian femininity for a more transgressive and ultimately exciting one. However, for the Count, Harker represents the only way in which he can travel to London. Thus Harker is possessed precisely for this indispensable purpose. The Count cannot provide Harker with anything other than a reflection of his own state, as Showalter reiterates:

> Read in the context of other fin-de-siecle frame narratives, Stoker's novel suggests that the solicitor Jonathan Harker, whose journal introduces the story, is Dracula's double: and in Werner Herzog's film *Nosferatu* Harker indeed does eventually become Dracula, replacing the dying vampire king.[25]

It is also necessary to note this importance of Harker upon the Count's travel to London. Harker becomes more than Dracula's possession, in many ways he is his accomplice in his attempt to colonise London because the Count uses Harker's knowledge of London in order to be able to travel and 'fit into' the city. The Count himself acknowledges this when he suggests that Harker comes:

> as agent of my friend Peter Hawkins, of Exeter, to tell me all about my new estate in London. You shall, I trust, rest here with me a while, so that by our talking I may learn the English intonation; and I would that you tell me when I make error, even of the smallest, in my speaking (20).

Harker also becomes a willing participant/victim within the Count's design to colonise London. Through their duality, it emerges that both are connected with the colonisation of London; the Count, because he wants to create a new race of

vampires, and Harker, to a certain extent, due to the fact that he wants to experience that which should not be experienced in Victorian society. Harker wishes to succumb to the lure of degeneration that the vampires represent which is repressed within his own psyche because it was also repressed in Victorian culture. However, during the *fin de siécle* this was all changing as Showalter notes 'all the laws that governed sexual identity and behaviour seemed to be breaking down'(3). Through the narrative of Dracula in London and through the transforming the sexually promiscuous Lucy into a sexually aggressive vampire, what Stoker illustrates is not only the reverse-colonisation of London by an Oriental race deemed stronger than the Victorian race, but also the cultural feeling that the real '...monster is in the civilized English character, lurking in the "self"; the monster is Victorian England.'[26] Stoker also allegorises the emergence of a new kind of sexual system in London which ultimately impacts upon the conception of the home (land); that of the New Woman and the position of this emergence of the New Woman upon constructions of national health and Empire, as Andrew Maunder reiterates:

> Stoker's representation of Lucy, in particular, can be situated within much wider contemporary debates taking place in 1897 – such as the need to 'patrol' and maintain the health of the Empire, and the way in which the moral behaviour of women and their roles as good wives and mothers became matters of increasing concern for all those interested in social purity (47-48).

However, the novel is not so much concerned with *maintaining* the health of the British Empire but with conceptions of socio-sexual identity that may *weaken* the

homeland and thus impact upon the Empire. These sexual systems were perceived to be weakening the British race and Empire, making Britain more susceptible to attack.

The representation of the past within the Victorian present demonstrates the problematic conceptions of a past out of its time figured stronger than the present. In both novels, the past is represented as something that, whilst engaging with the present, is representative of something that is also at once both homely and unhomely. This blurring of the past and present reflects the duality of a past rendered a threat to the present in its current perceived state of weakness, and also something which has to be learned from in order to safeguard for the future. This creates a sense of ambiguity and ambivalence with representations of the past, as will be further illustrated through the conception of the past in the present in *The Jewel of Seven Stars.* Whilst the representation of the past in many of Stoker's novels demonstrates a return of the repressed, or the emergence of the repressed within Victorian culture, Stoker also attempts to reconcile the past with the present, illustrating that through the past, new conceptions of the present and future can be gained. Perhaps this is most explicitly referenced in *Dracula*, as what is essentially a novel preoccupied with possession of the past and present is turned into an attempt to celebrate what can be learned from the past to benefit present and future races. Thus Stoker's narrative of degeneration quickly becomes a narrative of cultural regeneration by the close of the novel. This is illustrated further if one considers Stoker's representation of the New Woman coded through vampirism.

When Lucy becomes vampirised by the Count she inevitably becomes an exaggerated and perverted version of what she was in the beginning of the novel. The perception of sexual promiscuity surrounding her in life becomes deviant sexual aggression through her representation as the 'bloofer lady' who preys upon children.

Indeed, despite her being unconsciously perceived as sexually promiscuous in life by all the men of the novel, Lucy is never referred to as being degenerate. She is quite the opposite - she is what all the men seek to possess sexually, making the men no better than the Count. Before becoming a vampire, Lucy is 'possessed' by all three of her suitors through the penetration of blood transfusions. The import of such transfusions is illustrated through Dr Seward, who writes that:

> When it was all over, we were standing beside Arthur, who, poor fellow, was speaking of his part in the operation where his blood had been transfused to his Lucy's veins; I could see Van Helsing's face grow white and purple by turns. Arthur was saying that he felt since then as if they two had been really married, and that she was his wife in the sight of God. None of us said a word of the other operations, and none of us ever shall (174).

The placing of 'the blood of four strong men' (151) into Lucy's veins reflects her propensity towards a new kind of sexual narrative and ultimately a new kind of womanhood which embraces sexuality far more casually than the Victorian construction of such. However, it is only when in her vampirised and thus degenerate state that Lucy is once again made accessible to the men. Eastwood writes of the New Woman that:

> Young as she is she talks fearlessly and authoritatively on all and every subject of social depravity, for there is nothing which was hitherto hidden from her which she has not revealed...There are those who believe that the extreme remedy she is prepared to apply – that of refusing to unite herself in wedlock to

> the man whose morals are not as pure as her own – cannot fail in its salutary results.[27]

Through vampirism, Lucy becomes an exaggerated representation of this New Woman ideal and as such, is figured as monstrous by the men of the novel. In this context then, Lucy becomes akin to a male version of the New Woman based upon the fears attributed to the construction of the New Woman. While Lucy is alive, the men of the novel are able only to desire her; however, when she assumes monstrous and thus degenerate form, the men are able to sexually possess her (as demonstrated through the staking episode), while at the same time undermine the construction of the New Woman that she represents in life.

The positioning of Lucy as degenerate through her construction as 'the bloofer lady' (178) who preys on children reflects Stoker's preoccupations with imperial weakness. Lucy figured as the bloofer lady is directly contributing to the weakening of empire through her own representation of perversity, illustrated by her preying on the empire's children and thus reinterpreting the mother/child dynamics of Victorian culture. Lucy disrupts the dynamics of the home, making it unfamiliar and thus weakening the empire. Further, she alters the mother/child dynamics by reducing them to a monstrous and degenerate form, whereby the mother is feeding off the child. Warwick argues that:

> The mother/child relationship is often picked up in the vampire fantasies to focus the monstrosity of the women; the children become victims of their mothers' or other women's infections. Where Dracula concentrates his attention on fully grown adults, the women turn to children.[28]

Accordingly, Lucy is figured as more degenerate than the Count, who at least feeds on adults as opposed to children. This act is figured by Stoker as an ultimate representation of cultural degeneration precisely because it impinges upon the empire. In reversing the mother/child dynamic, Lucy is in fact weakening the empire and thus making the home(land) more susceptible to invasion from the Count. Mina, on the other hand, attempts to look after the home(land) through being a 'brave woman' (378), and thus representing the strength of Victorian womanhood by gaining a respectable balance between the New Woman and her Victorian counterpart. This is why, then, the killing of Lucy is figured as more important in the novel than the killing of the Count. The men are able to reassert their own sense of masculinity and undermine Lucy's exaggerated representation of the New Woman while safeguarding the empire from weakness. More broadly, this reasserts Victorian male dominance and strength through the resolution of Lucy's narrative of degeneration, in which 'The sweetness was turned to adamantine, heartless cruelty, and the purity to voluptuous wantonness' (211). Lucy's representation of the New Woman through vampirism, then, has become too transgressive and as such, she has to be controlled by the men through the reassertion of Victorian values of masculine superiority upon her body politic. This also expresses the strength of empire in the face of a degenerate race, and is illustrated through the staking of Lucy thus:

> Arthur placed the point over the heart, and as I looked I could see its dint in the white flesh. Then he struck with all his might. The Thing in the coffin writhed; and a hideous, blood-curdling screech came from the opened red lips. The body shook and quivered and twisted in wild contortions; the sharp white teeth

> champed together till the lips were cut and the mouth was smeared with a crimson foam. But Arthur never faltered. He looked like a figure of Thor as his untrembling arm rose and fell, driving deeper and deeper the mercy-bearing stake, whilst the blood from the pierced heart welled and spurted up around it (216).

Through this description, however, it is not only Lucy who is positioned as degenerate. The brutality of the killing position the men as degenerate by revealing that in the attempt to force their own superiority over the transgressive body politic presented by Lucy, they are also transgressing their own body politic. Thus the men are actually gaining possession of her through transgressive sexualised means. The men are positioned as being as degenerate as Lucy precisely because they give way to their sexual urges towards her for the second time.

Whilst Lucy has been transformed from being perceived as sexually promiscuous to actually being sexually aggressive by the infection of the Count, the men are seemingly naturally predisposed to being sexually aggressive although they have not been infected. They gain sexual possession of Lucy through their own degenerate means, leaving Arthur Seward with 'Great drops of sweat [which] sprang out on his forehead, and his breath came in broken gasps' (216). The episode in fact reflects the irrationality of the Whitechapel Murders in 1888, which revealed the sexual dangers hidden in a seemingly civilised London, further reflecting the degeneration of society from *within*. Stoker also refers to this series of murders and mutilation in the preface to the 1901 Icelandic edition of Dracula, writing that:

> This series of crimes has not yet passed from the memory - a series of crimes

> which appear to have originated from the same source, and which at the same time created as much repugnance in people everywhere as the murders of Jack the Ripper, which came into the story a little later.[29]

It is therefore evident that Stoker's narrativising of the killing of Lucy within the novel stems from Stoker's knowledge of the Whitechapel Murders, and is used further to represent the condition of degeneracy that London is falling into. Robert Eighteen-Bisang further argues the case for the similarities between the novel and the Whitechapel Murders, writing that 'Dracula is not Jack the Ripper. Although the novel may be based on the murders, it brings closure to them by identifying the perpetrator, bringing him to justice (putting an end to the killings) and offering him salvation.'[30] Stoker once again offers a reconciliatory scenario of the Jack the Ripper murders through bringing the Count to justice. However, Stoker also demonstrates the ambivalence and proximity of degeneration to the 'civilised.' In the Lucy episode, the Englishmen are supposed to be asserting their colonial power and dominance over the degenerate vampire through their seemingly rational killing of the degenerate, yet they are actually illustrating their own degeneracy and weakness by referencing the irrationality of violence that surrounded the Ripper murders. Through the narrative of Lucy, Stoker also illustrates the danger of the exaggeration of the New Woman by the Victorians, reflecting by the novel's end that the New Woman should be accepted as a component of a strong empire, instead of being constructed as an outsider or Other, and thus responsible for weakening it. Lucy then represents the New Woman figured as monstrous through the eyes of the Victorian male, and is immediately positioned as degenerate and Other, whereas later in the novel it is Mina who comes to represent the correct balance between the New Woman and Victorian femininity. Showalter argues

that 'Lucy represents the New Woman's sexual daring [whereas] The second image of the vampire was the hysteric, the feminist intellectual whose sickness drains her family's energies. Mina represents the New Woman's intellectual ambitions' (180). Mina, being the stronger of the two women, represents a version of the New Woman which falls between the two extremes, combining an intellectual prowess with domesticity. By the novel's end Mina is described as 'a brave and gallant woman' (348) as well as 'a mother' (348) and thus traverses both the representation of New Womanhood and domesticity linked to the maternal. It is important to note that Mina ultimately survives the Count precisely because she is figured as being the stronger of the two women, and thus comes to represent the desired balance between the ideals of Victorian domesticity and the New Woman.

By the close of both novels, Stoker ultimately calls for a cultural unity based upon imperial equality in order to gain a new sense of British and imperial power based upon embracing modernity while at the same time reflecting upon the past. As such, the character of Dracula illustrates Stoker's reflection of a Britain that accepts a version of itself coded through degeneracy and weakness, and Stoker reflects that by overcoming this cultural unification can be achieved. Stoker also re-positions the colonial threat from the East towards America, ambivalently suggesting that the real threat inherent within the novel comes from the American frontiersman Quincey Morris. The after-thought of the novel serves to create further ambivalences towards such aspects of unification that Stoker displays in the culmination of the novel. Whilst the threat of the vampire is quashed, the threat of other burgeoning empires are very real, and the birth of a new Quincey to Mina once again reflects this, raising far more questions about the fathering of the child than answering them, suggesting that the presence of the vampire is more far-reaching than first believed by the characters of

the novel. Nevertheless, through the killing of the Count, Stoker inevitably reveals that Britain can become strong again, a notion which he further demonstrates at the end of *The Lady of the Shroud* by suggesting that through unification, Britain can ward off invasions from burgeoning empires such as America and Germany. This is evident when Rupert suggests that 'I could not shut my eyes to the fact that German lust of enlargement lay behind Austria's advance' (240), suggesting the threat posed by such a country, and echoing the dangers inherent in Europe before the emergence of the First World War. Stoker thus reflects that Britain must overcome through unification the threat of cultural degeneration inherent *within* the British homeland in order to become powerful enough to deal with any threats of invasion from *without*, inevitably reflecting his position on the unification between England and Ireland. Through the two novels, Stoker reveals the nightmare vision inherent within Victorian England of weakness, degeneration and ultimately of invasion. However, as represented throughout the novels, Stoker attempts to combat such fears by critiquing them in order to illustrate the cultural and social benefits inherent within a new form of empire based upon unification. In doing so, he offers his own answer to both the Irish Question and to the stability and continuity of the British Empire. By achieving balance between the past and the present and ideals of domesticity and the New Woman, Stoker considers that the perceived danger, the nightmare vision of cultural decline and invasion can be overturned. Ultimately, this suggests that Stoker's later writing was indeed 'a specimen of wholesome, healthy, and stirring fiction.'[31]

Chapter Three

Oriental Landscapes and the Resurrection of the Past in *The Jewel of Seven Stars* and *The Mystery of the Sea.*

This chapter will further consider the resurrection of the past in *The Jewel of Seven Stars* and *The Mystery of the Sea* and will show the weakness and fragility of the colonial present in the Victorian era. The novels appear out of chronological sequence because, in order to set up an argument that demonstrates the importance of the past engaging in the present day, it will be useful to first consider *The Jewel of Seven Stars* at length. This novel explicitly resurrects a version of the past within the modern and will provide a basis for a consideration of how Stoker represents the Oriental past within the present day setting. Through the construction of the past as essentially more powerful, stronger and, to a certain extent, more progressive than the present, Stoker, I would argue, serves to offer the reader a literary construction of the weaknesses inherent in Victorian society, such as male-centric authority in society and the misrepresentation of the New Woman as being responsible for a weakening of empire. This causes them to be represented as Other in the same way that the Oriental and the Irish had been previously. Whereas in *The Snake's Pass* Stoker depicted the need to move beyond the colonial in order to construct a hybridised Anglo-Irish consciousness in Ireland, he employs different ideas in *The Jewel of Seven Stars* in order to reflect the need to move beyond a colonial consciousness. In the latter narrative, Stoker demonstrates that the past can be used to reflect British imperial degeneration through the conception of the past constructed in a non-colonial way. He also suggests that through the non-hostile relations between men and the conception

of the New Woman, Britain can become stronger again, and not succumb to the weaknesses that they so feared. It is my contention that the past of Stoker's novels becomes a mirror through which the British Empire could view the ultimate downfall of its colonial consciousness and thus resurrect the home according to new constructions of sexuality and sexual politics emerging through the representation of the New Woman. Stoker's novels demonstrate the notion that:

> History offered the Victorians not merely the chance to revel in images of their own past but to interpret their own age in terms of that past, to regard themselves as the natural and rightful heirs to long and fine traditions which they sought to uphold and sustain. History was not the servant but the master of a powerful ideology, based on exploiting the reconstruction of tradition and change. [1]

Throughout the narratives, Stoker points to a sense of history which acts as a mirror to the Victorian conception of the homely, but which also seeks to change it in order to encompass new, and more progressive conceptions of 'civilization' and new racial identities, such as that provided by the New Woman and progressive female thinking, as well as cultural hybridity. Robert Edwards suggests that the 'appearance of the uncanny is the sign of the currentness of ancient energies, and the resistance to them of the values of the present'[2] but what occurs in both the novels is the demonstration of the ambivalence of the colonial present when faced with a past that displays the fragility of such a present through the mirroring of it. The novels reflect that the colonial present in its current state at the Victorian *fin de siécle* is an uncanny, non-homely and ultimately disordered place when viewed through the lens of history.

The first thing which separates *The Jewel of Seven Stars* from the majority of Stoker's other writings is the fact that this novel is the only one which sees him explicitly reference the burgeoning Victorian interest in Egyptology and Archaeology. Shawn Malley reflects that 'archaeological theory and practice are hermeneutic tools for exploring and reconstructing the past, [and] establishing continuity with the remote past through the study of its material remains a central theme in [the] nineteenth-century.'[3] In many of his earlier novels Stoker does make some reference to a 'layman's' kind of archaeological narrative, such as in the narrative of *The Snake's Pass*. However, this kind of narrative is not fully realised until much later, reflecting the growing Victorian preoccupation with archaeology as a science, and the emergence of Victorian professional and semi-professional institutions created for the archaeological study of the past. During the mid and later nineteenth centuries, the re-creation of the past through the excavation of artefacts 'began to impinge more directly on the national consciousness at this time.'[4] The collection of excavated artefacts and the perception of the health of the British Empire were already inextricably linked, as only a strong empire could be seen to gain such a mastery over its colonies as to bring antiquities home. This was seen to provide the colonialist with knowledge (and thus power) over the colony by gaining familiarity or wholeness, as suggested by Thomas Richards who writes that 'The wholeness of the natural world became a figuration, in other words, for a united Empire.'[5] Through taking the remnants of powerful ancient empires, the British Empire could, in effect, stake a claim to also being a strong empire. Phillipa Levine reiterates this, writing that:

> The Victorian reverence for the home, both as a symbol of the domestic ideal and as a homeland, found an outlet in the national pride of the antiquarian

> community. It served thus to heighten the moral significance which was read into past events and to assert the essential rightness of a god-fearing England (34).

Such excavations impacted upon the Victorian consciousness as a show of imperial power and strength, as a symbol of the gaining of power through the knowledge of ancient cultures, and also as a way of reiterating the cultural ideals of Victorian England. However, the gaining of archaeological artefacts revealed something far deeper than a mere preoccupation with archaeology and even past histories. As Levine correctly suggests, the study of archaeology and antiquities were rooted within Victorian consciousness because they served to reiterate ideals connected with the many connotations of home. Such studies served to preserve a sense of the homely as the learning of past cultures and histories informed the cultivation of continuity in the Victorian present and future. This feeling of reverence for the home, and the attempt to preserve the home and the homeland can be found throughout many narratives of archaeological exploration and discovery. In the preface of *Dr Liddon's Tour in Egypt and Palestine* (1891) Annie King writes of Liddon's interests in archaeological discovery and tellingly suggests that:

> as he [Liddon] would frequently explain, the life of the ancient Egyptians all pointed one way; their monuments and their literature alike show that they held the real business of this life, to be preparation for death. It was neither on their palaces nor on their public buildings that they lavished their art and their wealth, but on their temples and tombs. 'What an example for us,' he would often say; 'one that can only fill us with humiliation and shame!'[6]

As Dr Liddon's example suggests, many of the archaeological narratives of the time tend to consider Egypt in terms of what can be offered to Victorian culture in order to further an understanding of contemporary social conditions, making the homeland more homely and allowing the Victorians 'the means to justify, to deplore, to praise or to abuse, to determine the means and portents of the changes affecting the structures of society' (1). In short, through archaeological discovery, the Victorians could locate a stronger sense of their own history with the justification of certain ancient histories, whether colonial or biblical. In doing so, the recreation of their own histories offered them a chance to shape their present and future, making both more familiar and homely. A version of this is also offered in *The Mystery of the Sea*, which constructs Britain as a strong entity through the discovery of an ancient past that serves to empower the British Empire through the justification of ideals that made the homeland more familiar and less likely to succumb to threats of degeneration and reverse colonisation.

It is no coincidence, then, that Stoker's first and only novel explicitly referencing Egypt and the science of archaeology is set within the confines of the Victorian home. In doing this, Stoker acknowledges the emergence of the perception that the home was no longer the place where the Victorians were at their safest. With the publication of the accounts of degeneration and some rather public examples of this so-called 'degeneracy' in London beginning with the Ripper murders in Whitechapel in 1888, the conception of the home as safe and familiar was at odds with its reality. What was being illustrated through these and other public examples of cultural decline was the fact that the homeland was breeding degenerates capable of such depraved acts and that ultimately the British Empire was succumbing to (and

even breeding) the savage. Throughout this undercurrent of murder and perversity, archaeological narratives tended to focus on preserving a sense of the homely and also attempted to examine the downfall of ancient civilizations in order to safeguard the British Empire against such a fall. The home (land) was at once becoming a place where degeneration was rife, yet viewed as a place which could be redeemed through archaeological discovery and the preservation of the ideals associated with the Victorian home. However, in Stoker's novel *The Jewel of Seven Stars*, the home is undoubtedly a non-homely place, and the one thing that is deemed to preserve the feeling of the home, archaeological discovery, is turned upon its head. It is my contention that for Stoker, archaeological discovery based upon colonial ideals is far more dangerous than previously illustrated, suggesting that the past resurrected through a sense of the colonial only serves to emphasise the cultural weaknesses inherent at the *fin de siécle* through such aforementioned acts of depravity and perversity.

At the beginning of the novel, the reader is immediately led to question the Victorian conception of the home as Malcolm Ross, a barrister, is awoken by a visitor in the middle of the night. Immediately prior to this, Ross is dreaming of the woman he is falling in love with, Margaret Trelawny. However, she is also the reason that Ross is brought out from his slumber by the knocking of a policeman. Stoker weaves both the conscious and the unconscious together within this first episode of the novel, making the dreamscape seem real and the reality seem like a dream, thus prompting Ross to announce that:

> It all seemed so real that I could hardly imagine that it had ever occurred before; and yet each episode came, not as a fresh step in the logic of things, but

as something expected. It is in such wise that memory plays its pranks for good or ill; for pleasure or pain; for weal or woe. It is thus that life is bitter-sweet.[7]

The distinction between what is real and what is not impinges upon the feeling of what is homely and what is not and reveals a 'heightened sense of interiority'[8] within Ross. For Ross, the dream of Margaret Trelawny provides him with a feeling of familiarity and comfort, even though she is merely a dream and not explicitly connected with the home. Ross's dream narrative suggests further that the home is perhaps not homely at all, as he dreams that 'With an undertone of sadness she made me feel how in that spacious home each one of the household was isolated by the personal magnificence of her father' (1). Ironically for Ross, it is within the 'arcana of dreams' (1) that he feels most at home. When roused by the noise of the policeman attempting to tell him news of Margaret's father in a trance, Ross reflects that 'Waking existence is prosaic enough' (2). This implies his preference to dreamscape as opposed to waking landscape. Already Stoker has blurred the boundary between reality and dream in this episode, confusing the distinctions even further by implying that the person Ross had dreamed about was the reason for his waking, Ross acknowledges that 'My dreaming of her, then, was not altogether without a cause' (3). For him, dream and reality are already blurred within the home environment, suggesting that the distinction between the homely and the unhomely is confused even at this early stage of the novel, and recalling the distinction between the familiar and the unfamiliar suggested by Freud in his 'The Uncanny' (1919). For Freud, the uncanny leads to a blurring of the boundaries between what he terms '*hiemlich*' and '*unhiemlich*'. Freud also suggests that people, situations and even houses can be deemed uncanny, stating that 'The better orientated in his environment a person is, the

less readily will he get the impression of something uncanny in regard to the objects and events in it.'[9] Thus for Ross, whose reality is already confused with dream, the uncanny asserts itself upon his consciousness. He is disorientated within his environment, and becomes further so as the novel progresses, leading him to experience the uncanny within the environment of the home. Through the uncanny, the Victorian ideal of the home is disrupted and is referenced as an unhomely and unfamiliar place.

Stoker asserts the uncanny further within the environment of the Trelawny household. Ross, attempting to investigate the reason why Abel Trelawny is found to be in a trance, becomes further disorientated within this environment by the representation of an abundance of archaeological artefacts that Abel Trelawny has collected through his various excavations in Egypt. Upon viewing them Ross notes:

> there were enough things in the room to evoke the curiosity of any man – even though the attendant circumstances were less strange. The whole place, excepting those articles of furniture necessary to a well-furnished bedroom, was filled with magnificent curios, chiefly Egyptian. As the room was of immense size there was opportunity for the placing of a large number of them, even if, as with these, they were of huge proportions (16).

Such a profusion of artefacts collected from Egypt places the household within a sense of unfamiliarity. Stoker removes the household from the familiar and homely, towards a construction of disorientation inherent within an unsuccessful colonial archive, prompting Margaret to question her own sense of familiarity within the household; '"I sometimes don't know whether I am in a private house or the British

Museum"' (20-21). By evoking empire through the collection of artefacts, Stoker constructs a struggle for imperial power within the household. This is evoked through the tension between the objects that belong to the past and the Victorian imperial present. Stoker furthers the tension between the unfamiliarity of the ancient past and the familiarity of colonial present through the commodification of the artefacts within the Trelawny household. By collecting the artefacts, Trelawny is attempting to stake a claim upon the history that they represent. He attempts to commodify history by breaking it down into dislocated objects and constructing a colonial archive representing his own implied power over the past. This sense of power is referenced when Mrs Grant suggests 'No wonder the house is like a King's house, when the mistress is a Princess' (44). Trelawny and Margaret are the King and Princess of their household, further reflecting the power dynamics of the household which emanates from the collection of artefacts. Mr Corbeck further signifies this, stating that he found 'Treasures priceless in themselves, but doubly priceless to him by whose instructions I sought them' (59). Whilst the objects provide a sense of claustrophobia and disorientation for Ross, they instil the power of the past onto Trelawny via his historical (and colonial) archiving. On awakening from his trance, Trelawny becomes 'lost in memories of the past' (109), illustrating the importance of the past that he has collected. Stoker creates a sense of disorientation within the household through the representation of this colonial archive. In doing so, Stoker problematises the function of colonial archiving as it is an attempt to 'know' the past through objects. In Stoker's narrative, quite the opposite occurs as Trelawny does not become fully familiar with the past he has collected, but actually becomes displaced into history as the objects produce a trance-like state upon him described as a 'negative existence' (25). Trelawny's attempt at forging a colonial archive has gone wrong; rather than his

exerting power over the past through gaining familiarity, the reverse becomes true. Through the artefacts, Trelawny becomes drawn into the very history that he is attempting to reconstruct.

All the past provides to Trelawny, Ross and Margaret in *The Jewel of Seven Stars* is disorientation and unfamiliarity, and thus for Stoker, the colonial exertion over the past becomes a futile exercise as the past seems to be stronger than the present. Stoker further demonstrates this when Trelawny is repeatedly dragged from his bed while still in a trance, so that the safe, which contains further artefacts, can be opened. Such an episode suggests not only that the past is stronger than the colonial present represented by Trelawny, but also that the past is fully in control of the present state of Trelawny. Stoker thereby references the problems of asserting a colonial power upon a history constructed merely through the collection of artefacts. The artefacts in Trelawny's room and house do not provide any form of orientation with the ancient past but merely provide a sense of disorientation, as the past remains figured as unknowable and unfamiliar, producing a sense of the uncanny within the Victorian household. This state of disorientation that produces a sense of the uncanny or unhomely within the Trelawny household, is explicitly referenced through Ross's use of a respirator when holding a vigil in Trelawny's room. While Trelawny is, in a sense, being used by a past that he does not fully understand, Ross attempts to transcend the 'hypnotic influence' (11) of the past and to overcome the negative existence that the past produces through disorientation. Even Ross goes some way to demonstrate the sense of disorientation produced by the past within the household, suggesting that:

> The room and all in it gave grounds for strange thoughts. There were so many

> ancient relics that unconsciously one was taken back to strange lands and strange times. There were so many mummies or mummy objects, round which there seems to cling for ever the penetrating odours of bitumen, and spices and gums – Nard and Circassia's balmy smells – that one was unable to forget the past. (22)

The collection of artefacts does not merely provide Trelawny with the knowledge of the ancient past but provides a mediated version of this past which Trelawny takes to be knowledge. The room itself becomes an allegory for Trelawny's lack of knowledge in his attempt at developing a colonial archive, as it is described as being a 'large one, and lofty in proportion to its size [and]...in far corners of the room were shadows of uncanny shape' (22). Within the room, 'the multitudinous presence of the dead' (22) only serves to create a mediated version of an ancient past. As such, it creates a sense of a disorientated perception of this past within the present, or as Ross states, that 'these smells remain, and that their secrets are unknown to us' (22). This is indeed what Ross finds out when he performs his own vigil in the room as he tries to guard Trelawny from any further attacks from the past that holds him. Ross notes that 'the past took such hold upon me that I caught myself looking round fearfully as though some strange personality or influence was present' (22). Despite using a respirator in order to transcend the hypnotic influence of the past, Ross is unable to resist its power. The past is figured as being stronger than the present (represented by Ross) because despite all of his efforts, it is still able to exert an influence upon him.

Despite being held by the past and becoming 'lost again in a reverie' (23) during his watch over Trelawny, Ross is not drawn as fully into the past as Trelawny. Ross's description of the room and the influences of the past within it serve to further

blur the boundaries between reality and dreams, drawing the narrative into a rhetoric of Freud's construction of the uncanny. The room, which should produce a feeling of the homely (and ultimately of orientation), does the opposite by producing a sense of unease, claustrophobia and disorientation through Trelawny's failure to fully control the past. In Stoker's narrative, the artefacts within the room draw Ross into imagining 'strange lands' (23) and thus take him unconsciously into a version of the past mediated by Trelawny's collection of objects. This sense of disorientation of the past is further evidenced through the sexualised suggestion of the 'penetrating odours' that pervade the room. Such a suggestion is evocative of the Victorian construction of the oriental past, discussed by Edward Said in his *Orientalism*, which indicates that 'The Orient was almost a *European invention*, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, [and] exotic beings.'[10] Richard Pearson also further elaborates on the construction of the Orient, suggesting that 'Egypt is the East; to many it is erotic, shameless, liberating, sexually threatening, fascinating.'[11] Thus Ross seems to be drawing his own unconscious invention of the Oriental past based upon its erotic construction by the Victorians, a representation that was further illustrated in Richard Marsh's novel *The Beetle* (1897). The drawing of both Ross and Trelawny into a highly sexualised version of the past illustrates its power upon the present; the power of the past literally serves to unman both Trelawny and Ross as it is able to penetrate the present but neither man is able to penetrate the past. I would argue that both characters are being controlled by a past that they cannot understand. This past takes away their masculinity, allowing them to become susceptible to reveries and ultimately to hypnotic states and in turn permitting Margaret, who was in the beginning isolated by her father, to emerge from her isolation and become stronger than both her father and Ross. This de-sexualisation of both Ross and Trelawny serves

to empower Margaret as she ultimately becomes the head of the household in her father's absence. In such ways, the novel represents a struggle for power and control along sexual lines and through the juxtaposition of a controlling past engaging with the present.

The representation of the past in the novel is one that exerts power upon the present, illustrated through the struggle between Trelawny and the astral body of Tera imposed through the artefacts. Trelawny, who is described as a powerful yet cold man, is rendered powerless under the exertion of a past that is unknown to him, despite his mediation of its history through the collection of artefacts. Through the construction of Margaret as Tera's double, the power-centre of the novel is shifted from Trelawny to Margaret/Tera, reflecting the controlling nature of the past upon the present. Ultimately it is not Trelawny who is in possession of the true representation of the past, but Margaret. For Ross and Trelawny, the past is something that is constructed through the objects that are on display in the room. Their version of the past only provides them with a sense of disorientation and unknowns. This is illustrated when Trelawny becomes increasingly uneasy as he draws near to the Great Experiment. The past mediated for Trelawny by his artefacts is uncanny precisely because it is not a full representation of the past. Stoker suggests that the objects do not provide true orientation with the past. Trelawny, who creates such an archive in order to possess the past, reflects many other archaeologists of the time, as evidenced by Levine that 'Antiquities, both to the antiquarian and the archaeologist, tended to connote moveable antiquities, those that could be easily displayed and indeed owned' (99). Indeed, for Trelawny, the ownership of the past through the possession of artefacts outweighs the need for knowledge of the past. Trelawny believes that through gaining such artefacts and possessing the past, the knowledge of the past is

also owned. Thus knowledge and ownership become intertwined in Trelawny's narrative. This is further evoked when, after awakening from the hypnotic state, he suggests:

> I am about to make an experiment; the experiment which is to crown all that I have devoted twenty years of research, and danger, and labour to prepare for. Through it we may learn things that have been hidden from the eyes and the knowledge of men for centuries (117).

In carrying out such an experiment to resurrect the dead Queen Tera, Trelawny is linking the possession of her artefacts, the ownership of the mummy of the dead Queen, and the possession of knowledge of the past. In doing so, Trelawny demonstrates his own preoccupation not merely with knowledge, but with power and possession of the past. However, in actuality, this is not the case as the doubling between Margaret and Tera further confirms that Tera is the one in control of the present. Trelawny understands discrete aspects of the past through his mediated construction of it via the objects. This is explained by Trelawny's assistant Mr Corbeck who suggests that 'Mr Trelawny is a good linguist of the Orient, but he does not know Northern tongues' (87). This suggests that there are already gaps within Trelawny's knowledge of the Orient; his intelligence of the past is somewhat limited. This is further evidenced when Trelawny resurrects Tera through his Great Experiment, despite his emerging doubts upon the practice. This episode exemplifies that he has misjudged Tera - she is not the type of Queen that the men expect her to be and such a miscalculation by Trelawny ultimately leads to the downfall of all the men involved in the experiment and also his daughter, Margaret. Trelawny's mediation

and reconstruction of the past reveals the ambiguities of attempting to piece together the past without full representation and understanding of it. Robert Edwards, however, believes that Trelawny's experiment is an attempt to unite the past with the present, which goes wrong. He writes that:

> The grand scheme dreamed of by Trelawny is to unite all these elements – ...scientific and genealogical – into an overarching, transcendent and all-explaining 'meta-narrative' in which all contradictions and opposition will finally be resolved. But in the reappearance, so strongly, of the uncanny, the impossibility of such a goal is anticipated (112).

Such a narrative of 'synthesis between past and present' (112) could never be achieved by Trelawny as his own colonial ideas surrounding the possession of the past ultimately serve to undermine such a goal. Trelawny uses religion as a basis for his own colonial notions of the past and its resurrection in the Victorian present. He states that:

> The experiment which is before us is to try whether or no there is any force, any reality in the old Magic...that there is some such existing power I firmly believe. It might not be possible to create, or arrange, or organise such a power in our own time; but I take it that if in Old Time such a power existed, it may have exceptional survival. After all, the Bible is not a myth; and we read that the sun stood still at a man's command, and that an ass – not a human one – spoke (119).

In doing so, Trelawny seems to be attempting to resurrect a power equal to those illustrated throughout the pages of the Bible, thus gaining a power that is unrivalled. This also provides the reader with an insight into Trelawny's aspirations for the experiment; to become as powerful as 'the Witch at Endor [who] could call up to Saul the spirit of Samuel' (119). I would argue that the experiment is one based upon gaining the ultimate synthesis of colonial power and control over the past within the Victorian present. However such a synthesis on colonial lines (based upon his ideal of ultimate power culled from the past) is antagonistic towards the present. Instead of gaining ultimate control over the past, Trelawny merely raises more questions regarding its relationship with the present; 'If then the Old Gods held their forces wherein was the supremacy of the new?' (133). Whilst Trelawny seeks to synthesise the past and present, the power held by the past seems to exclude the present. Trelawny, then, could never achieve such a feat precisely because his own ideology of possession serves to separate the past and present along colonial power lines. The past is constructed as being subservient to Trelawny's present, and thus susceptible to its domination. Yet as the novel reaches its conclusion, Trelawny begins to doubt the validity of the experiment and foreshadows its failure. He suggests that:

> I do not want my daughter to be present; for I cannot blind myself to the fact that there may be danger in it – great danger, and of an unknown kind. I have, however, already faced very great dangers, and of an unknown kind; and so has that brave scholar who has helped me in the work. As to myself, I am willing to run any risk (117).

By highlighting the danger involved in the experiment, Trelawny expresses the problems of resurrecting a past that has already been figured as more powerful than the present he represents. For Trelawny the threat that Tera poses is one of reverse colonisation, whereby the stronger past overcomes the weaker present. Trelawny further suggests that '"In another way, too, there may be hidden in that box secrets which, for good or ill, may enlighten the world"' (121). Here, again, Trelawny reveals his doubts for the experiment, and reflects that the emergence of Tera could either unite the world through enlightenment, or fracture it through reverse colonisation. Thus exhibiting the notion that the past has a power than 'mere modernity cannot kill' (36). This fear of reverse colonisation within Tera's resurrection further draws reference to Stoker's earlier novel *Dracula*, where the past indeed attempts to colonise the present. However, in the later novel, the colonial dynamics are far subtler as it is only through Trelawny's fears for the experiment that the reader can infer that the emergence of Tera may not be a peaceful one. Tera's narrative, however, ultimately points to such a fact. Corbeck relates that in Tera's life:

> Prominence was given to the fact that she, though a Queen, claimed all the privileges of kingship and masculinity. In one place she was pictured in man's dress, and wearing the White and Red crowns. In the following picture she was in a female dress, but still wearing the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, while the discarded male raiment lay at her feet...Perhaps the most remarkable statement in the records...was that the Queen Tera had power to compel the Gods (93).

This further demonstrates Tera's power in life, and reflects the indeterminacy of her being, illustrated through the problematising of gender roles. Corbeck suggests that Tera transcended both masculine and feminine genders, exerting her power over both. Like the Count, Tera exists in an in-between state that makes classification impossible. This once again reflects the futility of Trelawny's attempt to do so via a quasi-colonial archive and suggests why Trelawny begins to have fears regarding the danger of the experiment towards the close of the novel. Through the failure of the Great Experiment, Stoker reveals the fragility of Empire due to the weakness of the colonial present as Trelawny and the rest of the experimenters are ultimately rendered powerless by the emergence of the past in the guise of Tera. Stoker also shows the fragility of empire through the fear of reverse colonisation, suggesting that the powerful past could overcome the weaker present precisely because it is figured as unknown and as such is difficult to combat. The past, then, is one that has been underestimated by the men.

It is not only the past which proves to be more powerful and in control of the men within the novel. The representation of the women in the novel serves to reflect the burgeoning power of the female in direct opposition to the male. The most explicit reference to female power in Stoker's novel is in the disjunctions that occur through the representation of Margaret in Ross's dream narratives and in the reality of the narrative. As already demonstrated, Ross's dream narratives serve to blur the boundaries between real and imagined and leads Ross to believe that he loves Margaret. At the novel's outset, the reader is presented with what appears to be a narrative of romance as Ross dreams that he and Margaret 'sat in the cool shade, with the myriad noises of nature both without and within our bower merging into that drowsy hum...Again in that blissful solitude the young girl lost the convention of her

prim, narrow up-bringing' (1). Such dreams lead Ross into a kind of romance narrative construction whenever he and Margaret are in each other's company; a narrative that is, in effect, Ross's own projection of what he wants to happen. Further in the novel, Margaret reveals the reality behind the dream as she states that:

> I thought of you and your kind offer in the boat under the willow-tree; and, without waiting to think, I told the men to get a carriage ready at once, and I scribbled a note and sent it on to you (6).

Thus Margaret calls upon Ross because she had remembered him from a boat trip that they had taken together. What is striking in Margaret's explanation, however, is the tone of her conversation with Ross, which places it in contrast to Ross's dream. When she pauses, Ross describes that:

> I did not like to say just then anything how I felt. I looked at her; I think she understood, for her eyes were raised to mine for a moment and then fell, leaving her cheeks as red as peony roses. With a manifest effort she went on with her story (6).

Ironically then, Ross seems to misread Margaret's embarrassment as evidence of a burgeoning romance. Yet despite Ross's warm tones towards Margaret, her own tone does not reflect the same, suggesting that it is merely Ross's projection of his dream narratives into reality that is accountable for his feelings of romance and love for Margaret and leading him into delusion. His own dreams of romance with Margaret

seem to act as an exercise in wish fulfilment rather than any actual reality, further reflecting Freud's theory of dream origin and function:

> in every sense a dream has its origin in the past. The ancient belief that dreams reveal the future is not indeed entirely devoid of truth. By representing a wish as fulfilled the dream certainly leads us into the future; but this future, which the dreamer accepts as his present, has been shaped in the likeness of the past by the indestructible wish.[12]

In this context, I would argue that Ross's dreams seem to centre upon the fulfilment of his romantic advances towards Margaret and thus form the basis of a delusion in which his love for Margaret is being reciprocated through his involvement in the investigations into the mystery surrounding her father's hypnotic state. However, such romantic aspirations are further thwarted by Margaret's growing independence as the novel progresses, implying that Ross's delusion of love also seems to be akin to a delusion of power and control over Margaret. The love delusion that occurs between the two, forces Ross to overcome his unmanliness in the face of the past (which had unmanned both he and Trelawny) and to attempt to re-assert his own masculine identity as he states 'I began to think that as I was in the presence of a strong man, I should show something of my own strength. My friends, and sometimes my opponents, say that I am a strong man' (108). It is in the face of this exertion of masculinity that Trelawny suggests '"Malcolm Ross I have always heard of you as a fearless and honourable gentleman. I am glad my girl has such a friend!"' (108). Through Ross's delusion then, Margaret is constructed in the vein of a conventional Victorian female who is subservient to the male. Ross projects onto Margaret the

construction of the Victorian female when in reality Margaret is actually becoming independent and moving away from such a construction. Ross's feelings of romance are constructed around male-domination, and his suggestions that Margaret brings out '"all the masculinity in me"' (109) cause her feelings of uneasiness and also embarrassment, and are explicitly suggestive of Ross's attempts to exert his own authority upon her. Andrew Maunder reiterates this further by noting that 'Margaret Trelawny, as Malcolm Ross's narration sees things, is at the centre of this story about possession and possessions.'[13] For Ross, Margaret is his ultimate possession, as Tera is to Trelawny.

Nevertheless, like Trelawny and his failure to exert power upon the past, Ross also fails to successfully exert his masculinity upon Margaret because he has misjudged her. Indeed, Margaret presents a different version of Victorian womanhood than the men expect. At the start of the narrative she is described as ruling 'all around her with a sort of high-bred dominance' (4) suggesting that it is not her who is falling under the power of the men, but the opposite. Throughout the novel, it is Margaret who successfully exerts her power over the men as she is the head of the household when her father is under the hypnotic influence of Tera. Margaret is removed from the isolation that her father had imposed upon her to become 'a personality that dominated either by its grace, its sweetness, its beauty, or its charm' (17). Thus it is Margaret who holds true power over the household beneath a veneer of male domination. The representation of the powerful man (Trelawny, Ross, Sergeant Daw) is displaced towards the female (Margaret and Tera) as the female exerts her power over what can be seen initially as a male-centric society within the household. The past and the present are once again at odds with each other as the familiar representation of Victorian masculinity is figured as being weaker than the

construction of womanhood taken from the past. In doing this, Stoker illustrates both the strength of the past and also the contemporary shift away from Victorian conceptions of womanhood. Ross's failure to understand the artifice of his delusion and Margaret's increasing independence throughout the novel evokes the fragility of empire as images and ideals concerning the Victorian home are completely turned around in Stoker's narrative. This occurs through the displacement of masculine superiority and the emergence of female superiority based upon the forward thinking ideals displayed through Stoker's construction of the ancient Orientals, namely Tera. The representation of the artefacts collected by Trelawny also serves to assist the displacement and shifting of the power lines within the household. Margaret is empowered as Trelawny succumbs to the influence of the artefacts and, ultimately, of Tera herself. The term used to describe these hypnotic states, a 'negative existence' (24), also refers to the loss of power and control within the house, as Trelawny loses his sense of being powerful (as master of the house, and of himself). Thus it may be concluded that the positive existence of having power to exert becomes displaced into a negative one of subjection to a stronger, female force that is capable of reverse colonisation and control. In this manner, Stoker reflects the weakness of the Victorian male in opposition to a forward thinking version of womanhood that is culled from the past.

Notwithstanding the burgeoning sense of womanhood that is felt increasingly throughout the novel, the awakening of Trelawny from his trance-like state further reinforces Stoker's notion of the weakness of the Victorian male. When Trelawny awakes, the reader is almost inclined to believe that all things will be returned to normal – that is, the subversion of gender roles surrounding Margaret and her increased sense of independence will be displaced once again upon the male as Ross

suggests that "'none of us expected to see him start up all awake and full master of himself" (105). At this awakening, the male characters tend to re-assert their own sense of masculinity, as Ross eagerly does. However, such re-assertions of masculine superiority are short lived as they are immediately displaced yet again by Stoker's construction of the past. When Trelawny becomes lucid after his hypnotic state and becomes the masterful father to Margaret once again, he also functions in the role of the curator of the museum-like house. His power comes from a sense of control over the past through the hoarding of artefacts. As curator of the collection, Trelawny is also re-positioned as the colonial archivist, suggesting that the power he (apparently) holds over the past is a colonial one, a power which is undermined by Stoker through demonstrating the weakness of the colonial male within the novel and the increasing threat of reverse colonisation. When Trelawny becomes the master of the house, the curator of the museum and ultimately the archivist once again, it is because Stoker attempts to further undermine this position of implied colonial authority. However, Trelawny's claim to power is a false one, based upon the control of an unknown past mediated through his archive. The past is in fact controlling Trelawny as it is the past that defines when he wakes from the trance and ultimately when the Great Experiment will take place. Hence whilst Trelawny initially believes he is in control of a past figured to him as known through his (limited) knowledge of it, he later realises that the reality of the situation may be dangerous and provoke more unknowns:

> You know a good deal of my hunt after this mummy and her belongings; and I dare say you have guessed a good deal of my theories. But these at any rate I shall explain later, concisely and categorically, if it be necessary. What I want

> to consult you about now is this: Margaret and I disagree on one point. I am about to make an experiment; the experiment which is to crown all that I have devoted twenty years of research, and danger, and labour to prepare for. Through it we may learn things that have been hidden from the eyes and the knowledge of men for centuries; for scores of centuries. I do not want my daughter to be present; for I cannot blind myself to the fact that there may be danger in it – very great danger, and of an unknown kind (117).

The past renders the masterful Trelawny colonially weak and further undermines his narrative of control over it. Further, this illustrates that he too suffers a delusion of power like Ross as, in reality, both men are weak colonists and as such are susceptible to the increasing threat of reverse colonisation posed by Tera's resurrection. This will now be further demonstrated through the episode of the Great Experiment, and through considering the emergence of the ancient Queen Tera within the novel.

'Powers – Old and New': The Representation of the Past in the Present.

Through the construction of what can be called the 'colonial Queen' of the novel, Stoker further illustrates the problems of cultural weakness surrounding London as Tera embodies a version of the past strong enough to colonise *fin de siécle* Britain. Stoker codes such fears through his masculine characters within the novel as the men of the household struggle to contain the version past that is represented to them. The most explicit way in which Stoker represents the power of the past actively influencing the present is through the construction and resurrection of the ancient Queen Tera through Margaret. Hence it is useful to consider Stoker's representation

of Margaret as one based upon power relations within the household, a construction that betrays the love narrative as mere delusion or wish fulfilment on Ross's part. As the love narrative is progressively exposed as delusion and Ross's role within the household becomes increasingly diminished, it is Margaret who becomes the most prominent character within the novel as she gains power and control over the men in the house. As the time for the Great Experiment grows near, Margaret increasingly becomes less of an 'ideal' Victorian female and more a representation of the ancient Tera. In fact, Margaret speaks for Tera throughout the later part of the novel, as the narrator illustrates:

> We men sat silent as the young girl gave her powerful interpretation of the design or purpose of the woman of old. Her every word and tone carried with it the conviction of her own belief. The loftiness of her thoughts seemed to uplift us all as we listened. Her noble words, flowing in musical cadence and vibrant with internal force, seemed to issue from some great instrument of elemental power. Even her tone was new to us all; so that we listened as to some new and strange being from a new and strange world (129).

For the first time, the reality of Margaret and the representation of the past have become known to the men. Margaret immediately becomes positioned as someone new from a place that is not understood by the men, namely the past. This doubling with the dead Queen reinforces the blurring of boundaries between the past and the present and between reality and artifice as the men come to see that the past they had expected is not the reality of the situation. Instead of resurrecting Queen Tera, they have resurrected her astral body, which takes its residence within Margaret. This

strand of the narrative reflects Stoker's own interest in Spiritualism and the Occult, which is also prevalent in *The Mystery of the Sea*, and which serves to render the resurrection strand of the novel as uncanny. In the same way that the household was rendered uncanny through the disorientation of the past via the artefacts, so Margaret has become uncanny through the emergence of Tera and the supernaturalism that she represents. Ross's previous construction of Margaret had ultimately rendered her homely through the representation of the conventional Victorian female; one that succumbs to male-centred attention and who falls into the love narrative that he projected. However, the reality of Margaret that comes through Tera's doubling is that she is not a typical version of Victorian womanhood, but, like Tera, is more forward thinking. This places her into a representation of the New Woman which began to emerge in the *fin de siécle* and which prompted fears of the emergence of cultural weakness within Britain at this time, as suggested by Elaine Showalter, who writes 'As women sought opportunities for self-development outside of marriage, medicine and science warned that such ambitions would lead to sickness, freakishness, sterility, and racial degeneration.'[14] Through the construction of both Tera and Margaret, Stoker attempts to move beyond these gender divisions, suggesting that the attributes of the New Woman could make the present stronger and further reflect the position of the past as more forward thinking and thus stronger than the present. Indeed, Ross's narration hints that 'there may be hidden in that box secrets which, for good or ill, may enlighten the world' (121). However, it is unfortunate that the men in *The Jewel of Seven Stars* never fully realise the benefits of learning from the past as their rather naïve version of it only allows them to 'know that some of the wizards of old could induce from sleep dreams of any kind' (121). Of the Egyptian past, Ross suggests that 'we are profoundly ignorant' (121).

While Tera speaks through Margaret, Margaret bears the resemblance to the dead Queen. Stoker's doubling reveals the power of the woman over the men and illustrates the displacement of power along gender lines. Despite this, the men continue to attempt to resurrect Tera even though Margaret has increasing doubts as to the validity of the experiment to add to her own increasing sense of affinity with Tera. As the 'experiment' progresses, Margaret is almost able to see through Tera's eyes and feel with the emotions of the (un) dead queen as she suggests that:

> I can see her in her loneliness and in the silence of her mighty pride, dreaming her own dream of things far different from those around her. Of some other land, far, far away under the canopy of the silent night, lit by the cool, beautiful light of the stars. A land under that Northern star, whence blew the sweet winds that cooled the feverish desert air. A land of wholesome greenery, far, far away (128).

Through such a speech, both Tera and Margaret are able to re-assert their individuality and joint independence in front of the men who begin to view Margaret in a different way, wondering 'Who was this new, radiant being who had won to existence out of the mist and darkness of our fears' (129). For the men, the form of womanhood now being reinforced by Margaret is that of the New Woman, which ironically, the men propose is created from their own fears of weakness that they believed to emanate from the construction of the New Woman in Victorian society. Margaret suggests that her sense of womanhood is based upon strength and power. A claim that is evoked when she suggests that by raising her hand, Tera 'could hurl armies, or draw those to the water-stairs of her palaces the commerce of the world'

(128). The doubling that occurs between Margaret and Tera is one that re-establishes the authority of the female characters within the novel through the conception of the New Woman. The power relations within the household become completely shifted towards the female as Margaret's (and Tera's) power encompasses the male-centric establishment. Glover suggests that 'it is woman whose occult powers remain inexplicably impressive, outside existing knowledge [and] beyond any possibility of control' (86) and this is certainly the case with Tera and her doubling with Margaret. I would argue that Stoker systematically replaces the model of the doting female, daughter and conventional Victorian woman who 'could not visit friends, walk in the park, or go to the theatre unaccompanied' (119) with a more progressive (but ultimately destructive) version of womanhood culled from the past. Margaret's position within the novel suggests that she is the Victorian inheritor of an old worldly lineage which celebrates the progressive attributes connected to the New Woman as she descends from a lineage of prestigious progressive thinkers – her mother being related to the Egyptian Queens of old. This creates a cultural continuum between the Egyptian Orient of old and the Victorian present, a continuum that is further reinforced through the resurrection of Tera at the novel's end. Nevertheless, the 'new' Margaret, fuelled by her doubling with Tera, is placed beyond a sense of Victorian orientation based upon the colonial subjection of the woman. Margaret's doubling positions her into a sense of the uncanny through her blurring the boundaries that differentiate the familiar from the unfamiliar. While the men attempt to find 'true orientation' (129) through their experiment, Margaret's doubling only serves to further disorientate the men and make the past more unknowable through their colonial consciousness. Ross sums up this difficulty by stating 'I never knew whether the personality present was my Margaret – the old Margaret whom I had loved at the

first glance – or the other *new* Margaret, whom I *hardly understood*, and whose intellectual aloofness made an impalpable barrier between us' (148, italics my own). It is the final part of this quotation that best illustrates the power dynamics existing between the male and female of the household. By suggesting that Ross is unable to understand the new Margaret (the double of Tera), Stoker reflects that the power relations between the two have changed, placing Margaret in full possession of the once male-dominated household. The old, subservient Margaret is the representative of Victorian womanhood that Ross would be able to fall in love with, and through a love narrative, Ross could come to colonise the body politic of Margaret and claim ownership and control of her through marriage. However, Stoker disrupts this colonisation of Margaret's body politic through the inversion of the relations between the male and the female. Margaret (as Tera's double) is able to exert power upon the men, who all hold professions that betray their social standing and power at the beginning of the narrative. All of the men, as lawyers, doctors and detectives represent the cross-section of a Victorian male power base in London bourgeois society, a cross-section which is ultimately displaced by the power of the New Woman represented through the later construction of Margaret who is represented as a new woman through her doubling with Tera. Nevertheless, all of these professions are deemed powerless when attempting to overcome the representation of a past that is more progressive than the novel's present. As demonstrated earlier in the novel, medicine (figured through 'rough' science, such as in Ross's use of the respirator) is deemed ineffectual, as are the police and detectives who are unable to do anything but investigate the strange events because no actual crime has been committed. What the reader is ultimately left with is a social vacuum whereby the men become useless within the context of the home and the home land as they are deemed weaker than the

past they resurrect. The exertion of a past that renders medical and criminal science inadequate ultimately holds power over the Victorian present and in doing so, Stoker further explores the representation of a male dominated society that is powerless over a progressive version of the past which holds the female in higher esteem than they do. Ironically, the novel comes at the end of the reign of Queen Victoria, and, as Lisa Hopkins notes, such images of powerful female characters seem to characterise Stoker's post 1901 writings. In his novel, Stoker replaces the representation of the dominant male with that of the powerful and forward thinking female, further reflecting the construction of Margaret as the new centre of power within the household.

Indeed, it is through the doubling that occurs between the two female characters that Stoker reflects the novel's central theme of ownership. He achieves this through the role reversal between the men and the women within the household. By the novel's end, the construction of power has changed from a male-dominated (quasi) society, to a female dominated one as Margaret/Tera displaces the power of the men by gaining ultimate power and control over them through the acquisition of knowledge of Tera's past which the men never gain. Margaret displaces the power from her father as head of the household and as knowledge gatherer. She does this by gaining actual knowledge of, and orientation with, the past through Tera and in doing so, becomes absorbed into the narrative of the past represented by the Queen, rather than a mediated version of the past reconstructed by the men. In doing so, Margaret becomes familiar with the past, whereas the men become familiar with their own mediated version of it. Through her doubling, Margaret becomes the inheritor of the past and of the very knowledge which the men seek so desperately, once again creating a cultural continuum between the past and the present, prompting Ross to

reflect that 'there was a strange likeness between Margaret and the pictures of Queen Tera' (149). This likeness becomes a reality as Margaret *becomes* Tera through the Great Experiment, serving to make the cultural continuum between the Victorian present and the ancient past even closer.

The Great Experiment is what the men build up to throughout the narrative, and what Trelawny has anticipated his whole life. His collection of artefacts, it is revealed, serve to re-animate the dead Egyptian Queen in order to gain further knowledge of the ancient world that she represents. However, the men (especially Trelawny) have been consistently wrong up to this point in their judgements concerning this ancient past. The past has already been shown to be unknown and unfamiliar, and the men are ultimately disorientated by their representation of the past that is wrongly re-created through the artefacts. What the Great Experiment reveals further is the colonial sensibilities of the men as they reduce the body of Tera to a commodity. In the same way that Trelawny attempts to know the past through the collation of artefacts that represent it, the body of Tera becomes a way 'into' the past for Trelawny and also a way to know the unknown. Despite this, all the men gain in the lead up to the experiment is further unanswered questions, suggesting the ambivalence of carrying out such an experiment. Ross reflects thus:

> If then the Old Gods held their forces, wherein was the supremacy of the new? Of course, if the Old Gods had lost their power, or if they never had any, the Experiment could not succeed. But if it should succeed, or if there was a possibility of success, then we should be face to face with an inference so overwhelming that one hardly dared to follow it to its conclusion. This would be: that the struggle between Life and Death would no longer be a matter of the

> earth, earthly; that the war if supra-elemental forces would be moved from the tangible world of facts to the Mid-Region, wherever it may be, which is the home of the Gods. Does such a region exist? What was it that Milton saw with his blind eyes in the rays of poetic light falling between him and Heaven? Whence came that stupendous vision of the Evangelist which has for eighteen centuries held spellbound the intelligence of Christendom? Was there room for opposing Gods, or if such there were, would the stronger allow manifestations of power on the part of the opposing Force which would tend to the weakening of His own teaching and designs? Surely, surely if this supposition were correct there would be some strange and awful development – something unexpected and unpredictable – before the end should be allowed to come! (133).

Through this questioning, Ross debates the likelihood of the past overcoming their weaker present and thus alludes to dangerous potential repercussions upon the Victorian present they inhabit, most notably upon the stability of Victorian religious values. During this era of archaeological discovery, many archaeologists were attempting to provide an archaeological validity to the stories surrounding Christianity. Examples of this include the narrative of Dr Liddon, and also Dr. Richard Lepsius' *Discoveries in Egypt, Ethiopia and the Peninsula of Sinai* (1853): a narrative charting the discoveries made in Egypt which were of religious significance. Lepsius writes of one expedition that 'Indeed, it would not be difficult to recognise from our position, that ancient fig-tree, on the way to Heliopolis, by Matarieh, beneath the shade of which, according to the legends of the land, Mary rested with the Holy Child.'[15] Stoker, however, does the opposite of archaeologists of the time. Instead of attempting to validate religion via ancient discovery, he suggests that

learning of the past could, in fact, change the face of religion and thus alter the cultural dynamics of the Victorian age through the ruination of contemporary social values. Stoker also explores the application of older alternatives to religion, such as spiritualism and occultism. Lepsius further notes that archaeologists look into the 'mirror of history' (21) and in doing so, suggests the important connection of history and the past to the modern day. For Lepsius and Stoker alike, the past can be seen as a mirror that reflects the problems with the modern day, and it is this which Stoker demonstrates in his novel. Stoker, then, illuminates the problematic relationship between an attempt to learn history and a colonial attempt to know history. Through the latter, Stoker illustrates the downfall of the colonist by demonstrating the weakness of the present. Thus Ross's questioning of the Experiment and his growing ambivalence towards a past 'so strange, so unknown' (132) both imply his own conception of the present as being weaker than the past and reflect the fear of cultural degeneration within the Victorian present. Ross feels that resurrecting Tera (figured already as a stronger force through her ability to influence the present) can only lead to the fate of what he calls the 'New Civilization', a feeling which can also be attributed to a feeling of cultural pessimism based upon the perception that the empire could implode under the threat of cultural weakness and degeneration. This cultural anxiety is played out through the disrobing of Tera's body and her eventual resurrection, which displays the colonial weakness of the men and ultimately leads to their downfall. This resurrection reveals Ross's ambivalences to be true, reflecting the disjunction between the past created by the men through a colonial attempt to 'know' and the real past offered through the doubling between Margaret and Tera.

The scene of Tera's unwrapping is symbolically linked to Margaret, suggesting an erotic element which forces the reader to view the scene as a disrobing of Margaret

also. This is suggested by David Seed who states that 'Margaret has by this point been symbolically identified with the mummy to the degree that she reads the scene as an exposure of her self to the gaze of the male 'experimenters.''[16] It is my contention that this doubling between Tera and, indirectly, Margaret, further reflects the experiment as a colonial one based upon sexual subjection and control as both women are reduced to mere possession in a manner similar to the novel's beginning. Initially, Margaret and Tera were the possession of Trelawny; Margaret through heredity and Tera through her artefacts. Thus Trelawny believes he stakes a claim to both the present (Margaret as subjected womanhood) and the ancient past (Tera as colonial subject). When Tera is unwrapped she is again reduced to an object or artefact:

> the rest of us looked with admiration; for surely such linen was never seen by the eyes of our age. It was as fine as the finest silk. But never was spun or woven silk which lay in such gracious folds, constrict though they were by the close wrappings of the mummy cloth, and fixed into hardness by the passing of thousands of years. Round the neck it was delicately embroidered in pure gold with tiny sprays of sycamore...Across the body, but manifestly not surrounding it, was a girdle of jewels...the buckle was a great yellow stone ...And then on either side, linked by gold clasps of exquisite shape, was a line of flaming jewels (170).

This commodification of Tera places the rhetoric of the narrative into a colonial one as the men take note of the numerous jewels on display when she is unveiled to the prying eyes. The men view Tera through a colonial gaze that reduces her from a powerful Queen to an impersonal commodity to be collected within a colonial

archive. Through the colonial gaze the men attempt to own and thus control Tera; the reduction of her body politic transforms her from a dead Queen into an artefact. This gaze also serves to place Tera into a narrative not only of colonial possession but of sexual possession as their gaze turns to a voyeuristic one. This is illustrated by Margaret when she pleads to her father 'Father, you are not going to unswathe her! All you men...! And in the glare of the light' (167). The colonial gaze upon Tera is one based upon gaining a sexual subjection of the past via the enforcing of a colonial dominance through the reduction of her body into a sexualised commodity. This is reinforced by the men who deem the scene as 'indecent [and] almost sacreligious! And yet the white wonder of that beautiful form was something to dream of' (171). Ironically, it is this scene in which the men seem to gain full possession of their manhood again. Nevertheless, the past seems to further unman the colonial men by the novel's end, reflecting that their own sense of strength is disrupted by the emergence of the past figured as stronger than the present they inhabit. In the disrobing scene, however, the men briefly regain their sense of masculine strength as they attempt to sexually subject Tera to the colonial gaze in a scene that draws upon the staking of Lucy in *Dracula* so as to further position her as sexual commodity:

> All the pores of the body seemed to have been preserved in some wonderful way. The flesh was full and round, as in a living person; and the skin was as smooth as satin. The colour seemed extraordinary. It was like ivory, new ivory; except where the right arm, with shattered, bloodstained wrist and missing hand lain bare to exposure (171).

Stoker also references sexual violence within the scene. The men describe Tera not only as a commodity (further reflected through the references to satin and ivory upon her body) but also as a victim of violence with a severed hand, implying the power and sense of control that the men believe to hold over Tera in her laid out state. However, it is not only Tera over whom the men gain a sexual domination in this scene, but also Margaret. This evokes the emergence of a new kind of narrative for Ross, one in which the unreciprocated love narrative turns to one of implied sexual conquest as Margaret becomes sexualised alongside Tera. On the unwrapping of Tera, Margaret states that 'it seems like a horrible indignity to a Queen, and a woman' (168), at which point Ross 'took her hand and stroked it' (168), suggesting that while Margaret experiences Tera's sexual possession by the collective of men, it is Ross who attempts to reaffirm his station as Margaret's suitor by making physical movements towards her. The further unwrapping of Tera causes Margaret much frustration ("'Do not be uneasy, dear!"'[170]) until finally she succumbs to a quasi-sexual experience; 'Margaret's pallor grew; and her heart beat more and more wildly, till her breast heaved in a way that frightened me' (170) until eventually she 'raised her hands in ecstasy' (170). This sexual experience of Margaret, coded through the unwrapping of Tera, once again changes the dynamics of the novel, replacing the men in sexual domination and possession of the women as the quasi-sexual experience of Margaret is provoked by the sexual subjection of Tera by the men. However, the changing of power dynamics between the men and the women is based upon one thing; the reaffirmation of a sense of womanhood which the men can understand and thus colonise. In doing so, the men are able to temporarily replace the New Woman, represented by Tera and Margaret, with the old Victorian ideal of a woman who can be easily controlled and dominated. Thus the eroticism of the scene, doubly infused

onto Margaret through Tera, serves to undermine the position of the females in the household, and as such, further undermines the power of Tera in the present day. This shifting of power does not last for long and is made ultimately ambiguous as the men only gain power when Tera is unwrapped and unable to impose her power upon any of them. Stoker codes this power shift towards the men (and the gaining of a sense of colonial masculinity) through the absence of any exertion of power upon them from the past. However, as Tera further influences Margaret in the later stages of the experiment, it is the men who become powerless again. This struggle of power between the past and the present for complete possession over the past, further demonstrates the cultural problems that faced the bourgeoisie in the guise of a fear of cultural degeneration. The ambiguity of power reveals the ambivalences of British power on a world stage 'at a time when British supremacy appeared to be under threat.'[17]

As the men finally unwrap the body of the (un)dead Queen, Margaret becomes increasingly angry at what is happening and almost appears to be a voice emanating from Tera herself in order to reveal the unnaturalness of the experiment. Indeed, Malley (speaking of Haggard's similar novel, *She*) suggests that 'burial, and unwrapping are central motifs for elucidating the excavation and evocation of bygone worlds and their cultural, intellectual, and psychic legacy to the modern world' (293). Thus Margaret becomes psychically and intellectually connected to Tera through her unwrapping, further evoking the power of progressive womanhood exerted upon the present. Despite their attempt to dominate Tera, the men cannot gain any sense of orientation with the dead Queen and the past she represents. The men enforce a colonial power over Tera based upon their search for further knowledge of the past and, in doing so, attempt to colonise Tera in a sexually dominant way by familiarising

themselves with her body through its mapping. Nevertheless, the colonial gaze upon Tera's body further indicates a sense of unfamiliarity and disorientation within the men. The men can never gain a complete sense of orientation with ancient Egypt through the artefacts or through Tera herself as Tera ultimately gains dominance over the men, re-placing them into colonial weakness when she is finally resurrected. This resurrection illustrates the failings of the men throughout the novel because she does not act in the way that they expect her to, further suggesting that their conception of the past is based upon their own inferences from the inanimate objects they have collected. In this way, the past is mediated in order to fit their own expectations and goals, namely the attempt to gain knowledge not known by any man and to link 'the Old and the New, Earth and Heaven, and yield to the known worlds of thought and physical existence the mystery of the Unknown' (155). Thus Trelawny wants to gain a physical mastery over the past through the resurrection of Tera, but as Ross indicated earlier, the resurrection of an ambiguous past not fully known, may cause dangers:

> Surely, here in another country and age, with quite different conditions, she may in her anxiety make mistakes and treat any of you – of us – as she did those others in times gone past. Nine men that we know of have been slain by her own hand or by her instigation (153).

The past is characterised by Stoker as being more powerful than the present because the men are unable to know what kind of past they are resurrecting. By resurrecting a past that is weak, the men can hope to demonstrate their own strength, but this does not happen. Instead the version of the past that they resurrect serves to be a past far stronger than any of them could imagine and which ultimately annihilates them:

> The Coffer was not but a dull colour; and the lamps were growing dim, as though they were being overpowered by the thick smoke. Absolute darkness would soon be upon us...My two candles were like mere points of light in the black, impenetrable smoke. I put up again to my mouth the respirator which hung round my neck, and went to look for my companions. I found them all where they had stood. They had sunk down on the floor, and were gazing upward with fixed eyes of unspeakable terror. Margaret had her hands before her face (177-78).

However, Stoker's 1912 edition of the novel differs as the outcome is more positive than the previous edition. The ending of the later edition is one that fashions Stoker's ideals of the New Woman into a far more optimistic moment that is reminiscent of the way Stoker deals with the marriage of Norah in *The Snake's Pass*. Stoker undermines the colonial in the aforementioned novel by having Norah marry Arthur Severn in Ireland and go to a finishing school in France, an ally to the Irish during British Imperial control in Ireland. In the 1912 edition of *The Jewel of Seven Stars*, Stoker once again uses marriage to demonstrate the undermining of the colonial rhetoric, this time in terms of the possession of the female. Through fusing the past (represented by Tera's jewels) and the present (represented by Margaret) in a highly idealised moment of synthesis, Stoker illustrates that the power of the men has shifted back towards the woman as the past and present emerge as one. In this idealised moment, Margaret does not die but becomes a Victorian reinterpretation of Tera. The final pages of this edition suggests that whilst the Great Experiment did not work, the strength of the

past is still able to condition the present as Margaret and Tera become inexorably linked. Margaret wears:

> the mummy robe and zone and the jewel which Queen Tera had worn in her hair. On her breast, set in a ring of gold make like a twisted lotus stalk, she wore the strange Jewel of Seven Stars which held words to command the God of all the worlds. At the marriage the sunlight streaming through the chancel windows fell on it, and it seemed to glow like a living thing.[18]

Margaret has not become submissive to Malcolm Ross through the act of marriage and while she does seem to complete his romantic narrative, she continues to hold the last word upon the fate of Tera in a moment that recalls the utopian construction of Ireland in *The Snake's Pass*:

> Do not grieve for her! Who knows, but she may have found the joy she sought? Love and patience are all that make for happiness in this world; or in the world of the past or of the future; of the living or the dead. She dreamed her dream; and that is all that any of us can ask!

This ending leads the reader to view the marriage in a different light. By providing the final speech of the novel, Stoker actually further empowers Margaret, suggesting that Stoker has once again undermined the theme of the possession of the female by the Victorian male and has banished the colonial from the novel. Margaret's rhetoric and lexis in the final speech draws her closer to the way Tera speaks, evoking the unification of an ancient past (represented by Tera) with a present and future

represented by Margaret. The revised ending of the novel also locates the past as something that has to be learned from and which can be re-appropriated in the present in order to condition the future, demonstrated through Margaret's wearing of the mummy robes at her wedding. Ultimately, the power exerted by the men becomes equally bestowed onto the women as the telling difference between the two editions is that the final speech is taken from Ross and given to Margaret, who resurrects the Queen through her image. Thus the 1912 edition serves to reconcile the oppositions that Stoker created within the first edition of the text, making way for Stoker's further constructions of cultural unity within his narratives, as will now be considered in Stoker's earlier novel, *The Mystery of the Sea.*

The Reinvention of Britain in *The Mystery of the Sea.*

The representation of the past in *The Jewel of Seven Stars* is one that places the present into a sense of unfamiliarity by disrupting the Victorian version of the home. In doing so, Stoker is able to replace the familiar construction of the home into unfamiliarity through the conception of the Orient. However, in *The Mystery of the Sea*, the author represents the past in a different way; a way which seems to celebrate the history of imperial strength in Britain at a moment when the Empire is in decline through the ravages of cultural degeneracy and atavism. The novel's consideration of Second Sight through the character of Archibald Hunter and the mysterious old Celtic woman, Gormala, further reflects Stoker's interests in Spiritualism and the Occult, and as Paul Murray suggests, Stoker's representation of the spiritual earned him a dedication in a later work by John William Brodie-Innes, 'a Scottish lawyer and writer much involved in the occult and active in organisations such as the Golden

Dawn and the Theosophical Society.'[19] However, the main supernatural element of the novel, represented through Gormala's Second Sight, came through Stoker's personal experience of 'an encounter...in Cruden Bay, in 1901, with an old woman, believed to have supernatural powers and so generally shunned by the locals' (222). This experience would have ultimately shaped the character of Gormala, who fuses the past and the present through her evocation of the supernatural taken from the Celtic past which appears, as Paul Murray further suggests, through the syzygy or:

> the paired emanations in Gnosticism, the duality of God and the Devil, of good and evil. Under this system, mathematical principles, expressed in number symbols, are used to organise the world of gods, spirits and demons. The number three, important in *The Mystery of the Sea*, represents the divine triads, the Trinity, and the body-soul-spirit structure of man (222-3).

I would argue that this is an important supernatural structure within the novel as it appears superficially to be preoccupied with secret codes and ciphers. However, this preoccupation with numerical formulae (namely the number three) further evokes a sense of the supernatural culled from the old, represented through Gormala, who is described as an 'aquiline-featured, gaunt old woman.'[20] Thus Stoker is able to inscribe the past into the deciphering of the secret code through the construction of Gnosticism. By connecting a narrative of archaeological discovery (through the retrieval of the lost treasure of the Spanish Armada) Stoker is able to play upon the historical (and Gnostic) connotations of the number three. Through this system, Stoker is also able to unify the three countries of England, Spain and America via the account of the lost treasure. This representation of a very specific strain of

spiritualism, then, allows Stoker to align the Celtic past with its present, simultaneously crafting an account of the three interconnected countries played out through the lens of an ancient Celtic past. Stoker's coding of Gnosticism in the novel brings it closer to the construction of Tera's astral form in *The Jewel of Seven Stars*, as her version of the supernatural also serves to fuse an ancient form of the past with the present, albeit in an uncanny way. In *The Mystery of the Sea*, the sense of the past induced through a supernatural means serves to seek the 'discovery of the unconscious self or spirit in man' (222), a concept that is further in-keeping with Gnosticism and which furthers the account of Archie's discovery of manliness later in the novel in order to reinvent Britain.

The ways in which the past, present and future are fused together through a sense of the spiritual and the colonial is similar to the representation of the past in *The Jewel of Seven Stars*. The past refracted through the spiritual serves to provide a de-familiarised version of the present in the same way that Tera's ancient artefacts did as Archie suggests on numerous occasions in *The Mystery of the Sea* that 'I looked around and seemed to wake from a dream' (12). This dream-like existence further evokes the importance of dreams in *Dracula*, which linked the supernatural with the real. Within *The Mystery of the Sea*, the emergence of a dream-like narrative not only serves to reflect the de-familiarisation of the present, but also to further unite the past, present and future which 'seemed to be mingled in one wild, chaotic, whirling dream' (12). Archie's conception of the present thus illustrates Freud's notion that every dream originates in the past. The dream-like representation of the present serves to call for a new kind of reinvention of Archie through the discovery of his true self and of Britain through locating itself within its past. In such ways, Stoker reflects the state of the British Empire at the time by writing of a past that evokes the shortcomings of

a colonial Britain. Within this mirror of history, the fragile present (figured as dream) becomes unfamiliar, and the past (figured as supernatural) becomes familiar. This is further represented through the procession of ghosts that reiterates the colonial strength of the British past as the ghosts represents the spirits of those lost to sea in Britain over the ages:

> Indeed the moments of their passing – and they were many for the line was of sickening length – became to me a lesson of the long flight of time. At first were skin-clad savages with long, wild hair matted; then others with rude, primitive clothing. And so on in historic order men, aye and here and there a woman, too, of many lands, whose garments were of varied cut and substance. Red-haired Vikings and black-haired Celts and Phoenicians, fair-haired Saxons and swarthy Moors in flowing robes (22).

In this context, the dream-like episodes reflect the indeterminacy of the British present and also the indeterminacy and ambivalences of the British Imperial future because the might of the British past is demonstrated through the symbolic supernatural procession that occurs. The procession represents those nations that have been overcome by the British throughout history, reflecting the strength of the British Empire of the past. However, taken into the context of Stoker's ideals of hybridity and cultural intermixing, the procession can also be viewed as a more complex entity. Throughout the procession, Stoker writes of the differing races lost to British seas. In doing so, Stoker reflects the complexity of racial differentiation and national identity in Britain; an important concept for the author himself who was of Anglo-Irish descent. The procession can be seen to represent British strength in the past through

the defeat of the various races, but ultimately can be seen as Stoker's call for British strength in the present through cultural hybridity

It is ultimately Stoker's intention within the novel to attempt to align the representation of the British Imperial past with the Victorian present in order to suggest that Britain is capable of overcoming the indeterminacy of the present and reinvent a stronger empire once again. The way in which he resolves the conception of the past and the present is through the representation of the war between America and Spain for the control of Cuba in 1895-1898 and through the representation of these two opposing factions within the novel, which positions the Spanish into a problematic version of the Orient. The character of Marjory is represented as a colonial aggressor because she is an American who is sympathetic to the war in Cuba, for which she supplied:

> a battle ship that the Cramps had built in Japan. She had the ship armed with Krupp cannon which she bought through friends in Italy...Then she handed the whole thing over to the Government as a spur to it to take some action (88).

The novel proposes that it was Marjory who was responsible for starting the war, as the ship was given to the American Government on the condition that they attack Spain in order to lay claim upon Cuba. It is suggested in the novel that 'this girl got all on fire to free Cuba' (88) and as a result she is "'a girl for a nation to be proud of!'" (88). She is constructed as someone a nation can be proud of precisely because she represents the strength of American Imperial expansion (in this case towards Cuba) and in this sense, Marjory stands for American cultural and economic strength. This is the opposite of how Stoker depicts the British present within the novel, as

allusions to sexual health further draw the narrative into a reflection of the cultural decline that was being experienced in Britain. Stoker is thus able to evoke the unfamiliarity of a present in decline. When Archie is told of a plot to kidnap Marjory, he suggests that 'The impotence to do anything was simply maddening' (94), which metaphorically alludes to sexuality and disease and suggests the fears of sexual degeneration inherent within a weak British Empire through the breeding of a weak race. This is further illustrated when Marjory reveals the version of the past to which she is connected:

> I come from a race of men who have held their lives in their hands from the cradle to the grave. My father, and my grandfather, and my great grandfather were pioneers in Illinois, in Kentucky, in the Rockies and California. They knew that there were treacherous foes behind them every hour of their lives; and yet they were not afraid. And I am not afraid either. Their blood is in my veins (104).

This familial genealogy further marks out the strength of the American nation but instead of this assertion placing Marjory into an account of cultural difference based upon the competing powers of America and Britain, it actually suggests similarities between the two countries as already illustrated in the account of the procession of ghosts, which marked out the history of British colonial strength within the weaker present. In this sense, the pasts of both Britain and America draw the two countries closer together through their histories of cultural and Imperial strength. Yet Stoker still holds ambivalences towards America which are evoked through his construction of Marjory and the threat of American power that overshadows the novel.

To America, the country deemed most threatening is Spain, represented in the novel by the character of Don Bernardino who attempts to locate a treasure that was kept in Britain during the times of the Armada in order to help the Spanish overcome the English. Whilst the Spanish threat to the English has passed, Marjory is undoubtedly hostile to the Spaniard, fuelled by the ongoing war in Cuba. As a result, Don Bernardino is positioned in terms of a version of Otherness based upon the same kind of Orientalism inherent within the character of Count Dracula. Don Bernardino is described as having 'high aquiline nose and black eyes of eagle keenness' (159) combined with 'the very swarthiness which told of Moorish descent' (159). He represents a metaphor of present aggression towards America through the Cuban conflict and is thus evocative of a kind of racial typology. This is demonstrated through the characterising of the Spanish as racially black by the Americans, reflecting the sense of otherness later referenced in Said's *Orientalism*. Such allusions towards the racial blackness of the Spanish recalls their cultural history as Archie acknowledges that 'Somehow at that moment the racial instinct manifested itself. Spain was once the possession of the Moors, and the noblest of the old families had some black blood in them' (194). However, Stoker displays the futility of attempting to locate the Spanish into a rhetoric of racial 'othering' based upon portraying them as Oriental and thus savage. Stoker demonstrates the disparate attempts to identify the Spanish as savage through their incorrect categorising as being black, referring to the same way that they were reported in the American press during the Cuban conflict. Smith suggests that the Spanish were 'categorised...as black and the Cubans as white.'[21] In this sense, the Americans were incorrectly identifying the Spanish as racially Other despite their actual appearance, which revealed inconsistencies with such reporting. This disjunction between appearance and reality is also prevalent

within Stoker's representation of the Spaniard because despite being described in terms of being black and thus savage (through the use of adjectives such as 'dark' (160) and 'swarthy' (160)), he is in reality a proud and noble man who 'does not make war on women!' (160). The difficulties faced by Stoker to categorise the Spaniard according to the same type of racial othering as constructed by the Americans, further evokes the condition of Gnosticism whereby Archie attempts to locate the true meaning of the self and spirit. Within the character of the Spaniard, Archie finds a nobleman who does not fit into the American typology of the racial other. In fact he is the opposite of this racial othering, leading Archie to describe him as a 'gallant Spanish gentleman' (270) by the novel's end.

However, Stoker's ambivalences towards America continue throughout the novel, most notably through the conversations between Archie and Sam Adams, an American who when meeting with Archie, 'came along the passage softly whistling a bar of "Yankee Doodle"' (89). Sam Adams is also called 'Uncle Sam' within the novel, recalling the symbol of American patriotism and is a character that seems to delight in withholding from Archie American secrets regarding Marjory. The ambivalence towards America is carried through Adams' expression when discussing Marjory, leading Archie to:

> grow uneasy. His face grew very grave, and there spread over it that look between cunning and dominance which was his official expression. Then he spoke, but his words had not the same careless ring in them. There was a manifest caution and a certain indefinable sense of distance (86).

This sense of distance and uneasiness between the Englishman and the American further reflects Stoker's ambivalence towards the country because of the threat that America may pose to Britain. In this way, Stoker seems to point to America as the real threat within the novel and re-positions Spain into a construction of the familiar by exposing the disjunction between the American perception of the Spanish as Oriental and thus racially inferior and the opposite reality. Indeed, as Don Bernardino suggests, it is ultimately American history that exposes the country as being weak through the representation of atrocities towards Indians:

> 'I have memory of hearing that even your own great nation has exercised not so much care as might be' – how he sneered with polished sarcasm as he turned the phrase – 'in the dealing with Indians. Nay more, even in your great war, when to kill was fratricidal, there were hardships to be conquered, even to the most helpless woman and children. Have I not heard that one of your most honoured generals, being asked what was to become of the women in a great march of devastation that he was about to make, replied, "The women? I would leave them nothing but their eyes to weep with!"' (161).

In this sense, then, the past representation of colonial power by America marks it out as being closer to one that reflects the barbarism and savagery of the Orient than the American construction of Spain. Such reference to American atrocities during war also reflects Stoker's attitude towards such representations of barbarism in the short story 'The Squaw' (1893) which further displayed Stoker's ambivalences towards America. The past of *The Mystery of the Sea* places Britain into a narrative of colonial

strength whilst aligning America towards a rhetoric of barbarism and colonial cruelty, demonstrating its inherent weakness.

The representation of America as barbarous is further referenced through the conception of one of Marjory's kidnappers who is described as '"a buck nigger from Noo Orelans. A real bad 'un he is"' (225). This kidnapper (an American) fits the typology of the racial other as he is from African descent and further described as 'a huge coal-black Negro, hideous, and of repulsive aspect' (253). The Negro kidnapper is visibly other (unlike the Spaniard), based upon Said's later construction of the Oriental and thus has to be overcome precisely because he represents the colonial nightmare of an America that is figured as barbarous and savage. The overcoming of the American kidnapper by Archie restores British colonial strength over America and unifies the British past with the present. This killing demonstrates the resurgence of the British Empire as the American is depicted as being primitive: 'The Negro did not expect anyone, or any obstacle; he came on unthinkingly, save for whatever purpose of evil was in his mind' (259). This reflects Said's later suggestion that 'On the one hand there are Westerners, and on the other there are Arab-Orientals; the former are (in no particular order) rational, peaceful, liberal, logical...the latter are none of these things.'[22] Stoker illustrates that the Negro (figured as other) is incapable of any thought other than for evil and must be overcome because he represents the same version of American barbarism that is represented through the American subjection of the Indians. This brings his representation further in line with Said's later construction of the Arab-Oriental. Through the killing, Archie also finds his true sense of self and spirit, and in doing so, strengthens his masculinity. He suggests that 'I would have killed this beast with less compunction that I would kill a rat or a snake. Never in my life did I behold such a wicked face' (260). With this episode, Stoker

reflects the need for Britain to become stronger through re-gaining a sense of what made them strong in the first place (the past), along with a sense of self that is manly and not culturally degenerate and weak. This is reiterated through the sexual connotations given to the account of the killing of the Negro:

> With a bound I was upon him, and I had struck at his heart; struck so truly and so terrible a blow, that the hilt of the dagger struck his ribs with a thud like the blow of a cudgel. The blood seemed to leap out at me, even as the blow fell. With spasmodic reaction he tumbled forwards' (260).

This sexualised narrative reflects Archie's re-positioning from 'impotent' (thus in sexual decline) to stronger, more manly, and representative of sexual health as he suggests that 'Never before did I understand the pleasure of killing a man. Since then, it makes me shudder when I think of how so potent a passion, or so keen a pleasure, can rest latent in the heart of a righteous man' (260). In this way, Archie gains a sense of colonial dominance over the American, further reflecting the emergence of a new, stronger Britain based upon the overall health of the nation which is coded here through the gaining of sexual (and thus physical) strength by overcoming the American kidnapper. Smith suggests that 'psycho-sexual anxieties are projected onto the colonised Other' (28) and this is further reiterated by Archie's sexual subjection of the American through marriage. This again serves to reiterate the strength of the British as against America as Marjory is the representation of American manliness, despite being a woman, because she has the blood of her masculine ancestors in her veins. In this context, then, Marjory represents the history of men of action to such an extent that she mimics a man in order to be married in secret. This mimicry, however,

serves to do the opposite of what Bhabha defines as the colonial mimic; to be 'almost the same, but not quite'[23] because, while the colonial mimic uses mimicry for *subjection,* for Marjory it is to cast off the masculine image of herself and to become *subjected* through marriage to Archie's newly acquired form of the masculine. This subjection is further expressed through Mrs Jack's suggestion to Marjory that she '"gives up herself... a woman only learns her true happiness when she gives up all her own wishes, and thinks only for her husband"' (185-6). Through cross-dressing, Marjory ultimately casts off the history of masculine strength that she represents as she ultimately changes into a 'plain white frock' (127) in order to be married. In doing so, Marjory is literally casting off the masculine from her body in order to become a submissive female. I would further argue that Archie overcomes two men within the novel who both initially act as threats to Britain; the first being Marjory whose 'footman's livery' (127) is removed in order for her to embrace the female, the second being the Negro who represents American savagery. Archie overcomes a double threat from America by becoming more like the past and thus more manly. Smith suggests that 'America is effectively overcome by violence and domesticated through marriage' (28). However, whilst America is overcome and British superiority is re-established, Stoker further reflects that in order to ward off future colonial threats, Britain has to learn from its past strengths and thus not degenerate into weakness. Indeed this ideal is exemplified through Stoker's lecture on Abraham Lincoln in 1887. In this lecture Stoker reiterates the aggressive past of America through the:

> bold assertion of his Country's right to a high place amongst the Nations of the World, even in the wildest flush of victory when bell and bugle and cannon filled the air with clang and trill and roll of triumph from Eastern to

Western sea.[24]

This lecture notably draws upon Stoker's ambivalences towards America being a great nation as the subtext of the lecture points to the violence that has made the country a 'great' one, reflecting the historical basis for American 'greatness' based upon the application of war and physical domination. Stoker's ambivalences then further evokes the threat of a militarily strong America upon a weaker Britain, suggesting further that Britain need to become stronger in order to successfully defend itself against future conflicts. Stoker goes on to further pointedly critique the notion of cultural domination, stating that 'in true democracy 'the readiness is all'' (27) and further that 'he who would lift, howsoever worthily, the sceptre of Man's dominion over Man should know the many cares and perils of its sway' (27). In doing so, Stoker reflects his disapproval at the misuse of American strength through the policy of aggression and domination, stating that such actions of Lincoln and America can be used to 'teach the ages [a] mighty lesson' (27). Stoker once again refers to the mirror of history analogy used within his novels in order to suggest that the present can benefit by learning from the past. Stoker also calls for Britain to become stronger through gaining a more sophisticated sense of cultural hybridity. Within the novels, Stoker demonstrates the need for Britain to become more like past representations of itself in order to become less likely to culturally degenerate.

Throughout both novels, the past is constructed in such a way so as to offer the present a way beyond the cultural weakness inherent within Victorian society. The past represented within the novels is something that can be learned from when aligned with the present, in order to achieve and maintain cultural and imperial strength in Britain through the emergence of new conceptions of race and identity that ultimately

'provides a political fable for the reinvention of Britain' (28). For Stoker, the Victorian present needs to learn (from the representation of a powerful past) how to become more like itself in order to become stronger in the future. This ideal is manifested within both *The Jewel of Seven Stars* and *The Mystery of the Sea* as both novels attempt to reflect the present state of culture through the construction of the mirror of history.

Conclusion

Bram Stoker's Gothic: A Nightmare Britain or Re-Imagined Nation?

The central theme that is played out over the course of Stoker's colonial novels debates whether unification can create a re-imagined view of the British nation. Stoker reflects upon British national identity, suggesting that racial intermixing is key to the regeneration of the British Empire thus satisfying his own ambiguities surrounding the removal of Ireland from British colonial control towards a more united relationship based upon the Gladstonian model of Home Rule. However, the way Stoker arrives at this sense of unification and racial hybridity for the benefit of the British Empire is a complex one. In *The Snake's Pass*, Stoker does indeed demonstrate the problematic elements of the British Imperial movement towards Ireland, as the two English travellers tend to cast a colonial eye over the Irish landscape upon their arrival in the country. However, Stoker's novel overcomes the representation of Ireland through the colonial gaze by suggesting that Ireland is not a country that will easily lend itself to the submissive position placed onto it by the colonial travellers. Instead, Ireland becomes a discrete entity of its own with shifting bogs and old historic folk tales, all of which reflect the complexity of a country that the explorers can never overcome. Stoker reflects that the only way to completely 'know' Ireland is to become part of it, which is ultimately what Arthur Severn does through his marriage to the Irish peasant girl Norah Joyce. In this instance, Stoker re-imagines Ireland as a Garden of Eden that is ready to begin again according to the newly identified Anglo-Irish relationship between the two characters. Stoker uses the Gothic in order to first evoke, and then critique, the colonial perception of Ireland that

the Englishmen hold of the country in the first part of the novel. Black Murdock also tends to inhabit a Gothic narrative, again demonstrating how the greed instilled by the colonial conception of Ireland can even be manifested in the Irish themselves. By the novel's end, however, the colonial narrative is removed, both literally and figuratively, as Ireland is restored to a better version of itself.

Dracula and *The Lady of the Shroud* reflect a shift in cultural dynamics as well as a shift in literary dynamics for Stoker. The discourse used within these novels is essentially darker and more Gothic than *The Snake's Pass*, as Britain becomes representative of the disease of colonial greed that Stoker moved beyond in his earlier writings. As the fear of degeneration becomes more apparent within Victorian Britain, Stoker's representation of the country as a colonial force becomes displaced by a portrayal of Britain as a weakening nation that is susceptible to attack and colonisation from 'Other' colonies that were once figured as Oriental by the colonial British. Through the construction of the Count in *Dracula*, Stoker represents the fear of reverse colonisation of England by an unknown force, as further argued by Stephen Arata in 'The Occidental Tourist.'[1] Whilst Stoker's depiction of the Count does indeed offer a narrative of reverse colonisation coded through Harker's mental degeneration within the walls of Castle Dracula, the novel also displays Stoker's efforts to move away from the cultural weakness of degeneration. Through the representation of Mina, Stoker offers the reader a way out of the nightmare scenario of reverse colonisation and cultural degeneration as she represents the antithesis of Lucy, the wanton female corrupted into a nightmare version of the New Woman. Indeed, within the text, Mina represents the correct balance between gender, sexuality and domestication as she is able to help Harker regain his masculinity by supporting him in his venture to destroy the Count. The construction of Orientalism displayed

through the Count is once again overcome by the British, reflecting the renewed strength of the British Empire by the close of the novel through the re-appropriation of the past. This is also true for *The Jewel of Seven Stars,* which once again illustrates the dangers of reverse colonisation and again reflects Stoker's defeat of it through the merging of the past and present.

The representation of the past engaging with the present is an important concept within Stoker's narratives. From *The Snake's Pass,* through *Dracula* and *The Jewel of Seven Stars* to *The Mystery of the Sea*, Stoker demonstrates that in order to gain a sense of solidarity and strength in the future, the past has to be re-appropriated and learned from. Within the novels, the past acts as the 'mirror of history', allowing the present to see what *could* happen to Britain should the country not heed the warnings inscribed through the past. This is revealed in the novel *The Mystery of the Sea* where Gormala is able to see into the future by using her second sight culled from an ancient Celtic past. In this novel, by merging the mystic past with the present, Stoker is again able to offer a highly idealised version of the future based upon the unification of races. Here, the American female (Marjory) is domesticated through marriage, putting an end to her dangerous attributes as a helper to the American war effort. In doing so, Stoker reflects the danger of America towards a weakening Britain and demonstrates how this fear of American expansionism can be overcome.

By considering Stoker's vision of Ireland through its opposition and subsequent call for equality to Britain via models of the Orient, this thesis contributes to the scholarship on Stoker. It provides a detailed account of how Stoker re-imagines both Britain and Ireland, moving them from narratives of colonial aggression towards a narrative of cultural unification based upon models of racial equality taken from the past. Through the contemplation of Stoker's most colonial narratives alongside

models of Otherness provided by Freud ('The Uncanny') and Said (*Orientalism*), the thesis demonstrates how Stoker re-positions Ireland from the periphery of culture (based upon its colonial submission to England through the Act of Union) towards unity as an equal part and economic constituent of Britain. In doing so, Stoker re-locates the ambiguity of otherness with regards to the burgeoning powers of America and Germany, while at the same time, ensuring the newly-realised Britain is able to defend itself against future threats by overcoming its own fear of cultural degeneracy and weakness by applying the lessons of the past to the present day.

Stoker's novels reconcile disparate elements of British society far more than they represent the underside of Victorian culture. Indeed, through the exploration of the unknowns inherent within *fin de siécle* Britain, Stoker is able to craft scenarios which can successfully overcome the Gothic fears inherent in many of his novels, namely colonialism, reverse colonialism, identity, gender and violence, in order to create a newly imagined Britain. This re-imagination is based upon Stoker's political stance towards Ireland. Despite setting many of his novels in and around London, Stoker never lost his Irish identity. Indeed, his novels explore and allegorise the position of the Anglo-Irish hybrid within Irish culture and society. The connotations of which are reflected through his narrative coding of Ireland, allowing the writer to call for a version of the British Empire which is non-colonial and bases itself on being strong through a sense of cultural unification with Ireland. In doing so, England could provide Ireland with the necessary economic stability and support. This brought Stoker's Irish politics in line with British Prime Minister William Gladstone's as both supported Home Rule for Ireland. This, for Stoker, was an important political ideal as it allowed Ireland to be a contributing factor to its own success rather than a submissive British colony under completely British control. The representation of the

'Other' or Oriental within Stoker's narratives could also be directed towards the deconstruction of Ireland as Other inasmuch as he attempts to move on from negative representations of Otherness in order to construct a more equal sense of cultural hybridity. In doing so, Stoker moves away from constructing a nightmare version of colonial Britain, in favour of re-constructing Britain according to his liberal ideals and in turn, deconstructing Ireland as a colonial subject and representing it as an equal part of the British Empire, a country where British 'economic development revitalise[s] a stale and underdeveloped economy.'[2] Stoker's novels call for the strengthening of the British Empire in order to secure British Imperial dominance in the world markets and to ensure Irish economic stability and eventual progress through becoming an equal constituent of the British Empire – an Anglo-Irish vision that ultimately reflected Stoker's own cultural, social and political position on Ireland.

Introduction

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Chapter One

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